

House votes to restrict travel to Nicaragua

In a little-noticed move, the House of Representatives voted June 23 to restrict travel to Nicaragua. If approved by the Senate the measure would go to the president to be signed into law.

The House action, approved by a vote of 212 to 201, purports to bar any travel that is

EDITORIAL

"for the purpose of helping military operations of the Sandinista government."

But this is a transparent fraud. With such a law in place, helping the Nicaraguan people harvest food would be interpreted as aiding Sandinista military operations. So would other efforts to help develop the Nicaraguan economy.

Moreover, if the measure became law, it would open the door for a total ban on travel to Nicaragua, like is currently in place against Cuba.

Introduced by Robert Walker (R-Pa.) as an amendment to a State Department appropriation bill, the initial version of the measure would have barred travel "for the purpose of performing services or providing other assistance" for the government of Nicaragua.

This shows its true purpose: to stop the tens of thousands of people who have visited Nicaragua — and are favorably impressed — from learning and spreading the truth about the Sandinista revolution.

To facilitate passage of the amendment, however, Rep. Robert Smith (R-N.H.) modified it to read, "for the purpose of helping military operations" of the Sandinista government. The amendment was passed as changed.

Smith crookedly asserted that his version of the amendment was not aimed at those who go to Nicaragua to help harvest crops, teach people to read, or assist in health projects.

But in the very same breath, Smith made clear that the measure is intended to counter the impact in this country of the death of Ben Linder in Nicaragua. Murdered by the contras April 28 while working on a rural electrification project, Linder's example has inspired others to join work brigades in Nicaragua.

"Under my amendment," Smith declared on the House floor, "Linder would not go back."

Dipping into his mud bucket, Smith added, "He may have gone down there to build a dam, but he was armed with a Soviet-made weapon. Do you need a

Soviet weapon to build a dam?"

Linder was assassinated by the contras, who put a gun to his head as he lay wounded.

Walker added to the smear: "Linder was armed. He had Sandinista uniforms in his locker in the village. He became a combatant on the side of the Sandinistas."

Commenting on the House action, David Linder, father of the slain young engineer, said, "The contras consider schools, hospitals, and power stations military targets. Now the House is supporting the ex-

ecutive branch's policy of using the contra forces to destroy all progress in Nicaragua."

Linder added: "The House resolution is telling the American people that they too will be targeted if they interfere with the attempted onslaught against the Sandinista government."

In arguing for the House bill, Smith also asserted, "It's against the law to help the contras. It should be against the law to help the Sandinistas."

Despite the patent illegality of organiz-

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Caribbean labor meeting discusses need for unity



Contingent of National Union of Government and Federated Workers at Labor Day march June 19 in Fyzabad, Trinidad and Tobago. March protested escalating attacks on workers.

BY WENDY LYONS
AND ART YOUNG

SAN FERNANDO, Trinidad and Tobago — The broadest meeting of the Caribbean labor movement in many years took place here June 22-24. It marked an important step forward in building labor solidarity in the region.

Forty-five delegates from 17 countries of the region attended the Fifth Trade Union Conference on Unity and Solidarity

of the Caribbean Workers. Some 70 observers, including trade unionists from North and South America and Europe, were also present.

The meeting was hosted by the Council of Progressive Trade Unions (CPTU) of Trinidad and Tobago. The CPTU includes a number of the country's most important trade unions.

The central purpose of the conference was to exchange information and discuss common goals. The bulk of the three-day meeting was devoted to presentations by unionists from different countries describing the problems workers face. In the closing session delegates unanimously adopted a final declaration.

A democratic atmosphere prevailed as delegates and observers exchanged information and views, circulated literature, and made arrangements to maintain contact.

Workers and farmers in the Caribbean are suffering severely from the effects of the capitalist economic crisis.

Delegate after delegate described how the local and foreign capitalists were making working people pay for the crisis. There are massive layoffs and plant closures, hard-won social programs are being eliminated, and harsh restrictions are being imposed on union and democratic rights. The process is similar to what is happening in North America, except that imperialist

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Women miners discuss contract

BY NORTON SANDLER

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The pending contract negotiations between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the coal operators was much on the minds of those attending the June 26-28 Coal Employment Project (CEP) conference here.

Aiding the contract discussion were seven conference participants who had just gone through hard-fought strikes in the Western coalfields.

Most of the 200 who attended at least one conference session were working or laid-off women miners. The main plenary session where UMWA President Richard Trumka gave a keynote talk was attended by 140.

Women miners came from Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.

About 30 male miners came, many from the same UMWA locals as women who are CEP activists.

Three members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) also attended.

In his keynote talk, Trumka said the union would place a high priority on the 1988 elections so "the White House could again be restored to the American people." He also urged union members to oppose the Reagan administration's appointment of Dorothy Strunk to head the Mine Safety and Health Administration.

Contract fight

Trumka noted that in 1984, "for the first time in recent UMWA history," the union won a "no concessions" contract without a strike.

The contract between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expires January 31, 1988.

"Hopefully," Trumka said, "we can do it the way we did in 1984 through good faith negotiations without a prolonged cessation of work. But if the West is any indication of how they plan to negotiate in the upcoming months, we also have to be prepared for other alternatives."

UMWA members were forced on strike at 10 western mines this spring. On several occasions in the main sessions and in workshops, Eileen Lopez, Lorraine Gleason, Evelyn Luna, Eloise Watchman, and Ted Twite described their experiences in strikes at mines on the Navajo reservation in New Mexico and Arizona.

Lopez and Twite are members of UMWA Local 1332 at Pittsburg and Midway's (P&M) mine near Gallup, New Mexico. Gleason and Watchman are members of the women's auxiliary that was formed there during the strike. Luna is a member of UMWA Local 1924 at Peabody Coal's Kayenta mine near Kayenta, Arizona. All except Twite are Navajo.

Thirty-five people crowded into a room to hear a special presentation entitled "Navajo women tell how UMWA beat Chevron." P&M is owned by Chevron Oil Co.

The 75-day strike at P&M began February 20. The company tried to use high unemployment on the Navajo reservation to force the miners to accept major takebacks.

Watchman explained that 400 miners and their supporters marched to the offices

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Ortega agrees to attend Central America summit

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Following a meeting June 24 with the president of Panama, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega announced that he will attend an August 6-7 meeting with the four other presidents of Central American countries.

The August 6-7 gathering had been originally scheduled for June 25-26. It was postponed when Washington pressured the governments of El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica to delay the meeting.

Washington was concerned in particular with a proposal Costa Rican President Oscar Arias planned to raise, which in-

cluded ending U.S. aid to the contras attacking Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan government protested the U.S. interference. On June 17 President Ortega declared that Nicaragua "will not participate in any of the meetings" being proposed as substitutes for the original June 25-26 gathering.

However, after meeting with Panamanian President Eric Arturo Delvalle, Ortega held a news conference in Panama City to announce that he would be at the August meeting.

Ortega told reporters, "After talking

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Women miners meet

Continued from front page

of Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald in Window Rock, Arizona, after P&M began bringing scabs into the mine. That mobilization helped convince the company to return to the bargaining table and the strike was settled a few days later.

Also describing their experiences during recent strikes were Wyoming UMW members Sandra Moronez and Pat Taylor.

Two workshops were held on "UMWA issues in '80s" with much of the discussion focusing on what shape the union is in for the pending contract fight.

Steve Webber, International Executive Board member from District 31 said, "the '80s had been a trying time for our union and all labor organizations."

"The time just wasn't right for contract negotiations," he added.

Pointing to struggles by meat-packers in the Midwest, and the recently victorious strike by Teamsters at Norcal Frozen Foods in Watsonville, California, Alabama miner John Hawkins said the UMWA is not the only union standing up to the employers today. "This," Hawkins said, "means miners are not as isolated as we were during the 1977-78 and 1981 strikes."

Webber reported that the UMWA officers have been conducting merger and affiliation discussions with other unions. Delegates to the union's special convention last fall approved the leadership's request to begin those discussions.

Many mines are owned by the large oil companies. The OCAW, one of the unions involved in the merger discussions, also has contracts with the oil companies that expire early next year.

Noting that the UMWA is the only union that hasn't taken concessions in the '80s, Houston OCAW member Joanne Kuniansky said, "More and more oil workers are thinking about fighting this time." She said the conference had provided "a good opportunity" for oil workers to talk to UMWA members about the potential for waging a common fight against the oil companies.

Role of CEP

Since 1973, when the first woman was hired in the mines, 3,871 women have worked underground. Founded in 1977, the CEP has filed a number of lawsuits that have helped women get and maintain jobs in the mines.

Annual CEP conferences have been a place where women miners could get together to address their common problems. For a number of years, the UMWA International has been endorsing and participating actively in the conferences.

Though women comprise from 1 to 2 percent of the UMWA membership, they are playing an increasingly active role in the union. Trumka reported that 20 women were delegates to last year's UMWA convention. Several conference participants are officers in their locals. Carol Davis from Pennsylvania and Norma Jefferson from West Virginia, who head up mine

safety committees, helped lead the conference workshop on health and safety.

Discriminatory layoffs

According to figures distributed by the CEP, 646 miners were hired nationwide in 1985 and 1986. Forty-six were women.

Thousands of miners have been laid off in recent years. Because the coal companies refused to hire women for so long, most have relatively little seniority and are often among the first laid off. Estimates on the number of women currently working underground range from 2,000 to 1,000.

In a workshop on "Life After Layoff," Georgene Sacchini, a recently laid-off Pennsylvania miner who is now a member of the CEP staff, detailed the various federal and state agencies that provide assistance and retraining to laid-off workers.

Discussion was raised in a couple of workshops about the importance of women miners and the CEP trying to convince the UMWA as a whole that a fight should be waged against discriminatory layoffs by the coal companies.

In the final session, Pennsylvania miner Kipp Dawson said maintaining women in the mines posed "the biggest challenge the CEP has ever had."

"Seniority is our union's tool," she said, "and we should modify it and strengthen it so that the percentage of women in the mines does not go down."

Several speakers quickly objected to Dawson's comments. CEP leader Cosby Totten said, "I am 100 percent against changing seniority."

"Women have worked so hard for acceptance, we can't let this seniority thing come into play," another woman said.

A male miner said, "This is a form of reverse discrimination. If you want to alienate your group from the men, there's no faster way to do it."

For several years, the CEP has been backing legislation that would allow a parent to take time off from work before or



Militant/Norton Sandler

UMWA President Richard Trumka with Eileen Lopez, Lorraine Gleason, Eloise Watchman, and CEP Director Betty Jean Hall. Lopez, Gleason, and Watchman participated in recent strike against P&M Coal on Navajo reservation in New Mexico.

after child birth or because of family illness.

In his talk Trumka praised the owner of Drummond Coal Co. for recently agreeing to establish a "pilot" parental leave project. The conference passed a resolution praising Drummond Coal.

A second keynote speaker, University of Delaware professor Jean Pfaelzer, also addressed most of her comments to the parental leave legislation pending in congress.

During the discussion around parental leave, West Virginia miner Kathy Mickells received applause when she said one of the biggest problems women miners face is the lack of 24-hour child care. "This," Mickells said, "forces many women to miss or be late for work and often makes it difficult for them to participate in union activity." She urged the CEP and the UMWA to put more effort into the fight to win adequate child care.

Four activists from Britain's Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC) attended last

year's conference in Paintsville, Kentucky. A member of that delegation, Betty Cook, was able to return for this year's conference.

In the "International Visits" workshop, miners Bobbi Owens and Gene Byrge reported on their recent trip to Britain and June Rostan showed slides of her trip to Ecuador.

A special panel featured presentations by Gwen Wolfe and Mary Littler on the labor movement in the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, and from WAPC activist Cook.

South African Nomonde Ngubo, who is a member of the UMWA International staff, described the effects of apartheid on South Africa's Black majority.

A solidarity message was read to the conference from Susan Cueva, a representative of the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU-May 1 Movement) and the Miners Union of the Philippines.

Talks with subscribers boost renewals

BY JIM WHITE

Fifty-two *Militant* subscription renewals came in during the second week of the summer renewal drive, bringing the total to 95. It is still early, but the response is steady as *Militant* supporters around the country make plans to carry out the drive following the July 4 weekend.

Most of the introductory subscriptions sold during the spring drive will be running out during July and August. Consequently, the majority of the renewals coming in now are from readers who have been subscribing for a longer period of time. Readers who have been getting the *Militant* for a while make it easy on the business office: they have been renewing on one of the first letters they receive and it is usually for six months or longer.

But whether it's an old-time subscriber

or a new subscriber, the best technique for convincing a reader to renew is person-to-person discussion.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Newark, New Jersey, have already begun doing this. They are phoning and setting up visits to subscribers in the area.

Shirley Peña, who is coordinating the effort, says the initial response has been good. "We found interest in more than the paper. A lot of people are also interested in the socialist educational weekend we are helping to build in New York in July. And we are getting support for our fight to have literature tables in Newark."

Over the spring, the Newark police systematically harassed and shut down tables set up on the streets by subscription teams, a clear violation of First Amendment

rights. The fight against cop harassment has been taken up by the American Civil Liberties Union and is winning support among activists in the city.

One way of carrying on the fight is to continue to sell the paper. Peña says, "The plan is to get teams together every Saturday after the holiday weekend. We will go out in Newark and surrounding cities. We'll also be organizing teams that phone asking for renewals, both on Saturday and on weekday evenings."

"A particular focus will be to talk to co-workers who bought subscriptions on the job. We had a lot of success selling subscriptions to them during the spring drive. We won new readers in the plants where we work by talking to people about politics. Our job now is to continue."

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!



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- ☐ \$24.00 for one year

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. We provide first-hand coverage of events in other countries, such as Cuba, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

Subscribe today.

If you already have a subscription, by renewing now for six months or a year you'll receive a free issue of *New International* (cover price \$5.00), a magazine of Marxist politics and theory published in New York. The current issue features the article, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," by Jack Barnes.

The Militant

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Farmers, auto workers turn out for Linders

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — An audience of 20 farmers and their families in Chillicothe, Missouri, listened intently as John Linder spoke. He is the brother of Ben Linder, the U.S. engineer who was murdered by contras while working as a volunteer in Nicaragua.

"Following the death of my brother, my family and I were not sure what we should do. But since it was a policy that killed my brother, a policy of the United States government, we decided the best way to honor Ben's life was to go all over this country to fight that policy."

Linder told the farmers that since Ben's death the number of U.S. citizens volunteering to work in Nicaragua had doubled. "I believe the American people truly are the people of Ben Linder, not of Ronald Reagan."

John Linder was on tour in this area June 24-29. During his stay he spoke to hundreds of workers, farmers, students, and antiwar activists. In addition to the meeting in Chillicothe, community meetings were organized in Columbus and Kansas City, Missouri, and Lawrence and Wichita, Kansas. The meeting in Wichita drew 125 people and the meeting in Kansas City drew more than 150.

The tour was sponsored by a coalition including area chapters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Catholics for Justice, National Organization for Women, Democratic Socialists of America, and the Latin American Solidarity Committee of Lawrence.

KCUR, a Public Broadcasting System affiliate, ran a debate between Linder and local conservative commentator Pat Uhlman. The debate was aired several times.

"Benjamin Linder was not some innocent bewildered flower child," declared Uhlman. "He was a zealous crusader for the far left in Central America." Volunteers in "chaotic" and "war-torn countries," he warned, must realize that "they cannot expect that this country will go against its own interest and protect them."

John Linder replied, "It is true that Ben was working in a dangerous area, but why was it dangerous? Who created the risk? It was the contra war that creates the danger. It is the contras who try to destroy everything positive that has been achieved since the revolution of 1979 — who try to stop this progress through terror and intimidation. They are losing because they don't have the support of the people of Nicaragua or the people of the United States."

In Kansas City a gathering was organized for Linder at United Auto Workers Local 93 headquarters. There Linder, a laid-off UAW member himself, met with 20 other UAW members.

"I really like this guy," one worker told me. "International solidarity is exactly what we need. I've figured out that as long as workers in other countries are forced to live at a lower standard of living than we do, we will all be in trouble."

At the meeting in Kansas City, Linder commented, "Wherever I go it's the same story. The meetings are much bigger than

the organizers expect." Over the course of the tour here more than \$2,500 was collected for the Ben Linder Memorial Fund, which aims to complete the electrical power project Ben was working on in northern Nicaragua when he was killed.

BY BOB BRUNEAU
AND PETER VERNER

DENVER — Miriam Linder, sister of Ben Linder, visited this area with John Linder from June 21-23. Representatives of the American Friends Service Committee, Boulder Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Boulder-Jalapa Friendship City Project, and the Coalition for Unity with Central America formed an ad hoc committee which sponsored meetings for the Linders in Denver and Boulder, and appearances on two broadcast talk shows.

More than 200 people jammed a lecture hall at the University of Colorado in Boulder June 22. Miriam Linder presented a slideshow on Ben Linder's work in Nicaragua.

The next night John and Miriam Linder addressed about 300 people at the Montview Presbyterian Church in Denver.



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Family of Ben Linder and Nicaraguan leaders at his funeral in Matagalpa. From left, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega; Miriam, David, John, and Elisabeth Linder; and Sandinista leader Rosario Murillo. Now Linders and supporters are touring the country to get out truth about Ben Linder and contra war.

Rallies aid fight for political rights

BY FRED FELDMAN

"I encourage and support the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund in their fight against government spying on the Socialist Workers Party," declared J.F. Bohlman, Nebraska assistant state legislative director of the United Transportation Union.

"If the government can burglarize, infiltrate, and spy on the SWP, how long before they do the same to my union?"

Bohlman's message to a rally held June 21 in Omaha, Nebraska, was one of many expressions of solidarity heard at recent public meetings held in various cities to aid the fight against government spying.

"This lawsuit," declared Buddy Hogan in reference to the court fight the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have waged against FBI and other government police outfits, "is important for everyone, not just socialists." Hogan is the president of the Omaha branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Frame-up victims

William Johnson, pastor of Calvin Memorial Presbyterian Church, described the fight to free Edward Rice and William Poindexter, two former leaders of the Black Panther Party who are now serving 15-year sentences on trumped-up charges. Johnson cited an Amnesty International report concluding that the FBI and Omaha police department had collaborated to jail the two men.

Rita Mulgares, representing the Kiko Martínez Defense Committee, denounced the government's 14-year drive to jail the Chicano activist.

Antiwar activist Doug Lee Regier linked the fight against illegal government spying

and disruption to the case of an Omaha-based air force sergeant, Daniel Cobos, who is under attack for asking that he no longer be required to participate in spy flights over Central America.

The rally sent a message to the Slangal brothers, farmers who were recently acquitted by a Nebraska court. They had been wrongly charged with threatening agents of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation who attempted to repossess their cattle in the middle of the night.

'America buck naked'

A rally for the PRDF held in Dallas, Texas, June 20 heard Fakim Minkah, who had founded the Dallas chapter of the Black Panther Party. Minkah, who was imprisoned in Leavenworth federal penitentiary for his political views and activities, described the prison system as "America buck naked" — concentration camps for street activists.

"I appreciate and applaud the tenacity it took for the SWP and YSA to win this victory for all of us," he said.

Linda Hyjek, representing the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), reported the group's decision to file under the Freedom of Information Act for release of 17 volumes of files that were illegally obtained through the infiltration of FBI spy Frank Varella into the Dallas chapter.

Some \$1,745 was pledged to or collected

for the PRDF — more than the \$1,500 goal the Dallas supporters of the suit against the FBI had originally set.

Hits government stand

At a meeting in Morgantown, West Virginia, on June 13, Judith Transue of the Democratic Socialists of America denounced the government's opposition to an injunction barring the use of illegally obtained files on the SWP and YSA.

The Justice Department's stand, she said, "is the equivalent of a jewel thief saying, 'I still need the diamonds so I won't give them back.'"

Paul Noursi of the General Union of Palestinian Students discussed the fight against the deportation of eight pro-Palestinian immigrants in Los Angeles, and urged a stepped-up fight to abolish the McCarran-Walter Act which is used to justify attacks on immigrants' rights.

Diane Welch, a member of the executive board of the International Union of Electronic Workers Local 627, described how she had become active in supporting the rights of Sally Goodman, a union activist and socialist whom the government unsuccessfully attempted to drive out of her job at the Martin Marietta plant in Denver.

As a trade union activist in an arms production plant, she said, she realized "it could have been me."

This article is based on reports from Chris Hoepfner in Omaha, Jan McCann in Dallas, and Sarah Harris in Morgantown.

Anti-FBI suit gains new sponsors

Gil Green is one of many who have recently signed up as sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund. A longtime member of the Communist Party's national committee, Green was one of the CP leaders who were framed up and convicted in 1949 of violating the Smith Act gag law. He served five years in prison for his political views.

In greetings read to the June 20 rally held by the PRDF in New York City, Green stated, "I ... strongly support the proposed injunction initiated by the SWP to bar use of FBI files."

Another endorser is Morton Sobell. He served 19 years in prison after being framed up — along with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed — on charges of espionage.

Green and Sobell are among the scores of new sponsors of the PRDF, which now has gained 3,100 endorers in a drive aimed at signing up 4,000 by July 19. Elías Castro Ramos, Luz M. Berríos, and Jorge Farinacci, three of the 15 Puerto Rican nationalists facing trial on frame-up charges in Hartford, Connecticut, are among the new signers.

A growing number of unionists are also backing the suit against the FBI. Recent

endorers include Charles Barton, secretary-treasurer of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 500-P in Chicago; Francisco Cavazos of the Arizona Farmworkers Union; Robert Clark, regional representative of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and Harold Mitchell, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 100 in Cleveland.

Former mayor Tom Kough of Austin, Minnesota — one of the hundreds of former strikers still being denied their jobs by the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. — is another new sponsor.

Robert Breckinridge, president of the Nebraska American Agriculture Movement, has endorsed.

Bob Brown, organizer of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party; and John Trinkl, staff writer for the *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly, have added their names.

Several organizations have recently voted to support the suit as well. They include the Ad Hoc Committee for Justice for the Los Angeles 8 in Seattle; the Arizona Black United Front; and Black Women United of the University of North Carolina.

— F.F.

Rallies to defend democratic rights against government spying

Des Moines, Iowa

Sun., July 12, 4 p.m.

Des Moines Valley Friends Meeting House, 4211 Grand.

Donation: \$2. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

Greensboro, N.C.

Sat., July 11, 7:30 p.m.

North Carolina A & T University Student Union Memorial Room.

Donation requested. For more information call (919) 621-1657.

Houston

Sun., July 12, 7 p.m. 5 p.m. reception

Kuumba House, 3412 LaBranch.

Donation: \$5 for reception and rally, \$2 for rally only. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

San Jose, Calif.

Sat., July 11, 7 p.m. 6 p.m. reception

AFL-CIO Labor Temple 2102 Old Almaden Rd.

Donation: \$3. For more information call (408) 988-4007.

All events translated to Spanish and sponsored by Political Rights Defense Fund.

British rail workers face gov't attack

BY JOE SWANSON

BLACKPOOL, England — Officials of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) presented a gloomy picture to British rail workers attending the 52nd Conference of Shunters, Guards and Chargemen Shunters here.

Shunters, guards, and chargemen shunters are the equivalent of rail switchmen, brakemen and conductors, and switch foremen in the United States.

The two-day conference began June 12, the day after Margaret Thatcher was elected to a third term as Britain's prime minister.

All but a handful of the 200 delegates work on the trains. The rest were full-time union officers. The delegates represented close to 10,000 rail workers.

Rail workers, like other British unionists, have come under sharp attack in recent years. Train crews are being cut, rail service is being eliminated in certain parts of the country, and the government is trying to resell portions of the nationalized British Rail system to private buyers.

Newspaper reports on June 12 quoted NUR General Secretary Jimmy Knapp as saying he was "shattered" by the Labour Party's defeat in the election.

That tone spilled over into the conference itself. Andy Dodd, assistant general secretary of the NUR, said in a keynote speech, "We have to remember that 60 percent of the British trade unionists voted for the Conservative Party."

Driver-only trains

A good portion of the conference discussion centered on the British Rail Board's (BRB) proposal to increase the number of trains operated with a driver (engineer) only. One delegate explained that the BRB wants to rapidly expand driver-only service and eliminate guards' jobs altogether. This delegate said the NUR should demand that a guard be maintained on every train.

A resolution defending this position was adopted unanimously, although a conference official said it is now a very difficult time to take on the BRB and that if the matter is contested in court, the current political climate guarantees that judges will rule against the union.

Crew consist

The major debate on the second day was over the "train-crew concept." As part of its job-reduction schemes, the BRB also wants the guard's position to be divided into three grades with different job descriptions and rates of pay. Many delegates argued that this would lead to thousands of jobs being eliminated and that management would be able to use its own discretion to decide who gets what position and how much each job would pay.

Seven NUR locals submitted resolutions opposed to the BRB's proposal. Before allowing discussion on those resolutions, the NUR officials forced discussion on their own resolution. It stated, "Whilst it is recognized that this Conference has constantly, including its 1986 decision, opposed in its entirety the Trainmen's concept, nevertheless it has now to be understood that the Union's National Policy for some years has been the adoption of the principle of the concept, albeit in a totally different format as to what the Board have now distorted it into."

The resolution also said, "It appears clear that a concept structure will eventually emerge" and urged the delegates to approve the union's leadership negotiations with the board over crew sizes. Though some delegates urged fighting the train-crew concept instead of negotiating with the board, the resolution carried by a substantial majority.

Nuclear waste

Thomas Lorvin, a delegate from Newcastle, proposed that guards and shunters no longer be involved in moving deadly nuclear wastes. "This resolution is one of the most important in regard to our health and safety," Lorvin said, "because the test on the casks [rail containers holding the wastes] that I have seen are a fraud."

Another delegate said, "No nuclear plants are safe. They should be shut down and buried where they stand instead of shipping the waste by means of transport."

Other delegates argued that hauling nuclear waste helps maintain jobs. "If we don't haul it," one delegate said, "someone else will."

The resolution opposing the hauling of nuclear waste was defeated by a two-thirds majority vote.

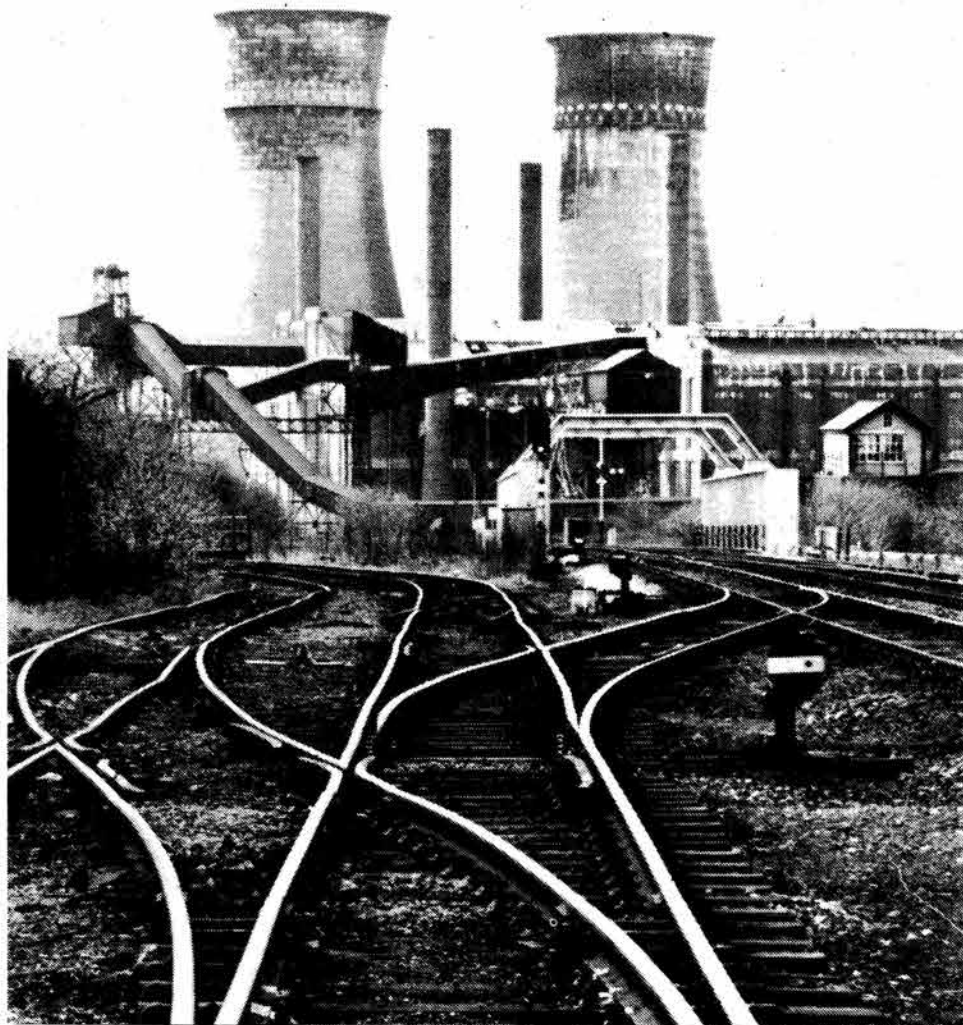
A resolution was passed supporting the right of women who change jobs on the railroad during pregnancy to maintain their normal rate of pay. The resolution also demanded that British Rail allow women to work close to their homes for a set period of time after returning to work from maternity leave.

Geoff Revel, chairman of the NUR's Rail Against Apartheid committee reported on the trip that he and committee secretary Doreen Wepler had taken to South Africa. They had gone to get a firsthand look at the recent victorious strike by members of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union.

Conference organizers arranged for me to have 10 minutes on the agenda to describe the attacks U.S. rail workers have faced over the past decade.

The suggestion I made for rail workers from the United States and Britain forming a joint brigade to aid in the construction of Nicaragua's railroads got a good response.

Joe Swanson is a 25-year veteran rail worker in the United States and is the labor coordinator for the Political Rights Defense Fund.



Sheffield, England. Attempt to cut train crew sizes was central discussion at union conference. G.M. Cookson

Korean masses force regime to retreat

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Confronted with the prospect of mounting antigovernment mobilizations, South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan went on television July 1 to announce that he was accepting many of the key demands of the demonstrators.

Chun promised to release some political prisoners, ease press restrictions, and grant other democratic rights.

Most significantly, Chun conceded to the popular demand for direct presidential elections, in place of the indirect system now in effect that seeks to secure the continued political dominance of former army officers like Chun and his handpicked successor, Roh Tae Woo.

Chun claimed that his turnaround was in response to consultations with former presidents, leaders of the parliamentary parties, and other public figures.

But in fact, it was the enormous popular outpourings in the streets of Seoul and other cities that forced the dictatorship to retreat. The demonstrations, involving hundreds of thousands of students, workers, professionals, and others were the largest and most sustained mobilizations for democratic rights in South Korea in years. They were repeatedly attacked by thousands of police.

Just a week earlier, Chun had balked at accepting these same demands when he met with Kim Young Sam, a leader of the opposition Reunification Democratic Party.

But then came the June 26 "grand peace march for democracy" initiated by a broad coalition of parties, student organizations, labor leaders, religious figures, and human-rights groups.

In Seoul, tens of thousands turned out in many different parts of the capital. Although riot police again attacked, the demonstrators were becoming better organized. A *Time* correspondent reported that "the protesters took to outmaneuvering police by sheer numbers and dazzling mobility."

Foreign journalists noted the increased involvement of workers in the protests, particularly in heavily working-class neighborhoods like Yongdungpo, in Seoul.

"I don't think my salary will go up if the students and others achieve their goals," one worker commented to a reporter. "But I think now the point is not bread and butter, but freedom."

Demonstrations also spread to some 30 other cities in the country. In cities like

Pusan and Kwangju, particularly sharp clashes occurred between protesters and police.

By June 30, the day before Chun backed down, the National Police Headquarters in Seoul had officially recorded 2,145 demonstrations across the country in the previous 17-day period.

Although officials in Seoul denied any parallels between the situation in South Korea and the popular outpourings that brought down the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines last year, there certainly are some similarities. South Korean democratic-rights activists have noted the encouragement and inspiration they received from Marcos' downfall.

U.S. officials have intervened directly to ease the conflict in South Korea, out of concern that a popular upsurge similar to

the anti-Marcos one could eventually bring down Chun or his successor. Such an outcome could seriously threaten Washington's enormous stakes in the country. (See article on opposite page.)

By making some concessions, Chun, Roh, and their backers in Washington hope to get political life off South Korea's streets and back into the government offices and parliamentary chambers.

But that may be harder than they think. For the first time in many years, the people of South Korea have acquired a sense of their collective power. They have won a victory in their struggle for democratic rights. They are now in a stronger position to press for further gains and to resist any efforts by the government to limit or renege on its promises.

Huge protest strike in Haiti hits move to control elections

BY HARRY RING

A nationwide protest strike erupted in Haiti June 29 when the military regime there moved to place administration of a slated national election in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior, which includes the army and police.

In the first two days of the strike, at least four people were killed by government troops and some two dozen wounded.

Troops also ransacked the headquarters of a labor federation, the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers, and arrested union leaders.

On June 30, the regime declared the union body dissolved.

In Miami, Haitian community leader Gerard Jean-Juste reported to a June 29 protest demonstration of 2,000 that word had been received from union leaders jailed earlier and then released.

Union leader Yadley Cameau said by telephone that he and two others had been released. He said they were among eight unionists who were tortured while held at a military barracks.

With 90 organizations reported rallying the population, the general strike shut down businesses in the capital city of Port-au-Prince and other major cities across the country. Schools were closed. Roads were blocked as protesters threw up barricades

and burned piles of tires.

The military rulers, who stepped in when the Duvalier dictatorship collapsed in February 1986, have generated increased popular opposition with their refusal to take measures to alleviate the desperate economic conditions of workers and farmers.

The general strike was touched off when the regime moved to grab control of the slated elections. A new constitution approved in a national referendum March 29 provided for creation of an independent Provisional Electoral Council to conduct the elections.

Then came the inflammatory announcement that the cops and army would control the election process.

As with the decree declaring the union movement banned, the election move flatly violated the new constitution.

Addressing this issue, the minister of information declared that the government was not concerned if the decree was "constitutional or unconstitutional."

And, responding to charges of CIA involvement, a U.S. embassy official in Port-au-Prince asserted that it was U.S. policy to help Haiti move to "democracy" through elections. Washington had supported the Duvalier family's tyranny for 28 years.

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the Militant

South Korea: string of dictators 'Made in U.S.A.'

BY ERNEST HARSCH

In a September 1986 open letter to the Reagan administration, more than 300 South Korean clergy and lay figures called on Washington to end its support for the dictatorship of President Chun Doo Hwan.

"The U.S. government should not recognize the legitimacy of such a regime, should repent of having supported Chun, and abstain from helping him further," the letter declared.

The signers' assessment of Washington's long relationship with Korea was predominantly negative. Among the U.S. government's "criminal acts," they cited:

- U.S. support for the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1905;
- The division of Korea at the 38th parallel at the end of World War II;
- U.S. tacit approval and assistance to Park Chung Hee's 1961 military coup;
- U.S. aid to Chun when he seized power in 1979;
- Complicity in the May 1980 Kwangju massacre, when Chun's troops — formally under U.S. command — butchered hundreds of protesters.

The views expressed in that letter are shared by growing numbers of South Koreans. During the course of the current mobilizations against the Chun dictatorship, the chants, "Yankee go home!" and "Drive out the Americans!" have been shouted time and again.

Such demands come in reaction to Washington's military, political, and economic domination of South Korea, and its central role in propping up one dictatorship after another.

From colony to independence

As the open letter to Reagan noted, U.S. intervention and interference in Korea goes back a long time.

In 1905, following the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, imperial Japan imposed a "protectorate" over Korea. The U.S. secretary of war at the time, William Taft (soon to become president), supported this move in a secret memorandum with the Japanese government.

For five years the Korean people waged a fierce armed resistance against Japanese occupation, but were crushed. In 1910 Korea became a formal Japanese colony.

Opposition to colonial rule continued, however, and mounted considerably during World War II. Toward the end of the war, with Japan's defeat imminent, people's committees flourished throughout the country, peasants began seizing large landholdings, and workers' committees took over factories abandoned by Japanese owners.

Meanwhile, Soviet troops had entered northern Korea as part of an agreement with Washington for Soviet participation in the war against Japan.

On Sept. 6, 1945, just a few days after Japan's formal surrender, representatives of the people's committees met in Seoul and proclaimed the independent People's Republic of Korea, headed by Lyuh Woon Hyung. Two days later, U.S. forces landed in southern Korea.

Although the Soviet military recognized the new republic, and allowed the people's committees to function in the areas it controlled north of the 38th parallel, the U.S. military command refused to do likewise. In place of the government chosen by the Korean people, Washington imposed its own.

Lt. Gen. John Hodge proclaimed a U.S. Army Military Government in the south. Not one of its members even spoke Korean. He also set up an occupation administration, staffed with many figures who had collaborated with the Japanese during the war. Syngman Rhee, an aging Korean politician who had spent 38 of the previous 41 years in the United States, was brought in to head this administration.

The regime opened a reign of terror in the south to crush a series of popular uprisings against U.S. rule. Peasants, workers, and many others were beaten, arrested, and

killed. Lyuh Woon Hyung, the head of the Korean People's Republic, was himself murdered.

One U.S. official, describing the suppression of a 1946 general strike, said, "We were out to break that thing up and we didn't have time to worry too much if a few innocent people got hurt. We set up concentration camps outside of town and held strikers there when the jails got too full. It was war. We recognized it as war. And that is the way we fought it."

On Aug. 15, 1948, the U.S. administration turned over nominal power to a new Republic of Korea under President Syngman Rhee, thus formalizing the partition of the Korean Peninsula. In response, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in the north a few weeks later, headed by Kim Il Sung.

Scorched earth

The war against the people of southern Korea was soon directed against the new state in the north as well. Washington was determined to bring the entire peninsula under its control.

To that end, the U.S. command rapidly built up a South Korean army of 98,000 troops. Both Syngman Rhee and his defense minister openly threatened to march across the 38th parallel.

In anticipation of an imminent invasion, North Korean forces struck southward on June 25, 1950, marking the beginning of the Korean War. Rhee's army virtually collapsed through mass desertions, and new popular uprisings broke out throughout the south.

Alfred Crofts, a former member of the U.S. Army Military Government, acknowledged that "millions of South Koreans welcomed the prospect of reunification, even on Communist terms."

Under the cover of the UN flag, Washington poured massive military forces into Korea.

U.S. planes carried out carpet bombings. Whole villages were burned as suspected "enemy" outposts. Napalm was dropped on civilian populations. Much of Korea's industry was destroyed, and U.S. forces systematically bombed dykes to cause flooding and the destruction of crops.

President Harry Truman went so far as to threaten use of atomic weapons against China, which had entered the war on the side of North Korea when U.S. troops reached the Chinese border.

But Washington was unable to reconquer the north. A stalemate developed along the 38th parallel. By the time the war ended in July 1953, some 2 million Koreans had been killed and another 3 million wounded.

The White House and Pentagon then

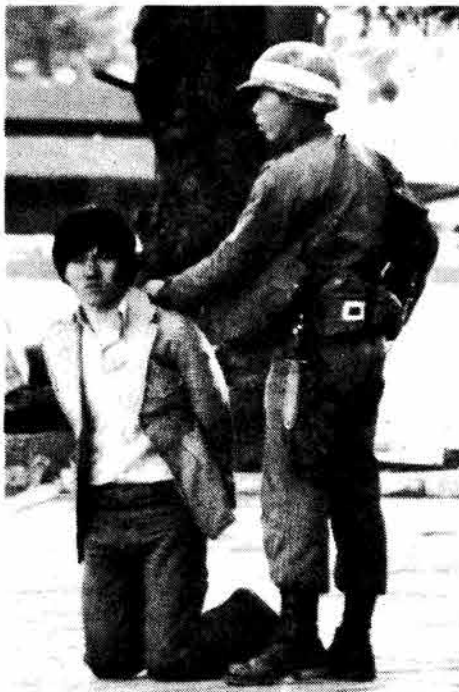


Some 40,000 U.S. troops remain garrisoned in South Korea, along with 700 nuclear weapons.

proceeded to transform South Korea into a fortified U.S. military base.

Some 40,000 U.S. troops remain permanently stationed in South Korea, along with a vast arsenal of the latest U.S. conventional and nuclear weapons (the number of nuclear arms are estimated at around 700).

Since 1953 Washington has poured in more than \$12 billion in economic and military assistance. This has helped finance the formation of one of the largest armies in the world. Out of a population of about 40 million, Seoul has 560,000 troops under



Protester being arrested by paratrooper

arms, with a regular army reserve of another 1.4 million. These are formally under joint U.S. command.

Washington also kept in power a succession of dictators. Most basic political rights were abrogated. Political and labor activists faced imprisonment, torture, or death. The U.S. CIA created a Korean counterpart; originally called the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, it is now known as the Agency for National Security Planning.

Periodically, however, the anger of the people of South Korea burst out into the open.

From Rhee to Chun

In 1960 Syngman Rhee was forced out of office by massive student protests. Several months later, in May 1961, a former lieutenant in the Japanese army, Park Chung Hee, seized power with Washington's blessing.

The severe repression under Park kept things relatively quiet for a while. But by the late 1970s student, labor, and peasant unrest again mounted. These pressures led to a palace coup in 1979, in which Park was assassinated.

Gen. Chun Doo Hwan quickly stepped into Park's shoes, again with U.S. support. This provoked massive, countrywide demonstrations.

When the residents of Kwangju rose up in May 1980, seizing control of that southern city, Gen. John Wickham, the head of the joint U.S.-South Korean command, released nearly 8,000 South Korean troops from their normal duties to help crush the Kwangju revolt. The result: 200 people killed according to the official count, as

many as 2,000 by unofficial estimates.

Alongside South Korea's strategic military value to Washington, it also serves as a profitable place for investments by U.S., Japanese, and other foreign corporations. This is because wages have been kept low through a wide range of antilabor laws.

Anger over economic exploitation

Between 1962 and 1979, U.S. firms took \$130 million in profits out of South Korea, based on investments of \$170 million. Gulf Oil — the first major foreign investor in South Korea after the Korean War — alone remitted \$33.5 million in profits by 1977.

U.S. and Japanese banks have loaned billions of dollars to companies in South Korea, to finance the country's much-vaunted "industrialization" drive. But these went overwhelmingly to foreign corporations and to the South Korean monopolies that dominate the export industries. Small businesses and farmers saw almost nothing of this money.

Meanwhile, the country's foreign debt has skyrocketed to \$47 billion (from \$26 billion in 1980).

The United States takes more than 30 percent of South Korea's exports. But these have run up against increasingly stiffer protectionist measures imposed by Washington.

At the same time, U.S. officials have demanded that South Korea open up its markets to U.S. agricultural and livestock products. This prompted several demonstrations by South Korean farmers in April 1985, who charged that increased U.S. agricultural imports would be "a serious threat to the survival of 10 million farmers."

For a long time, public demands directed against Washington were raised by only a handful of political activists. But the U.S. complicity in the Kwangju massacre began to change that.

By 1984 slogans against the U.S. government were being raised more widely on university campuses. By the end of 1985 broader layers of the population were starting to express their resentments of Washington, in particular of its unjust trade policies.

Now, during the current massive mobilizations for democratic rights, vocal criticisms of the Chun regime's main foreign backer have become fairly common.

If the Korean people's long history of rebellion against foreign domination is anything to go by, then Washington's grip on South Korea could be in for another serious challenge.

'Uncle Sam can't win'

"The dark people are waking up. They're losing their fear of the white man. No place where he's fighting right now is he winning. Everywhere he's fighting, he's fighting someone your and my complexion. And they're beating him. He can't win any more. He's won his last battle. He failed to win the Korean War. He couldn't win it. He had to sign a truce. That's a loss. Any time Uncle Sam, with all his machinery for warfare, is held to a draw by some rice-eaters, he's lost the battle. He had to sign a truce. America's not supposed to sign a truce. She's supposed to be bad."

— Malcolm X, April 1964.

Should East Caribbean countries unite?

Grenadian revolutionary Don Rojas discusses proposal to form single state

The following is an interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to Maurice Bishop, the slain prime minister of Grenada. The interview was conducted June 14 in Managua, Nicaragua, by Cindy Jaquith. Rojas was in Managua to participate in a conference on "Crisis and Revolutionary Alternatives in the Americas," sponsored by several Nicaraguan social science associations to mark the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Che Guevara.

Jaquith. A number of prominent Caribbean political figures are talking about the formation of a single, unitary state made up of seven island countries in the Eastern Caribbean. Why has this proposal come up at this time?

Rojas. The seven countries are Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Kitts and Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, and Montserrat. Six are fully independent. Montserrat is still a semiautonomous British colony, expected to get its independence soon. All belong to the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS).

The idea of a common Caribbean identity, a common Caribbean destiny, and a common Caribbean nation has inspired patriots and nationalists in our region ever since the British Empire began to disintegrate after World War II.

Let me give you a little background on the history of efforts at Caribbean federation, integration, and unity.

In 1957 a federation was set up of 10 Caribbean countries, the above seven plus Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. All were British colonies at the time, with local governments exercising limited powers. This West Indies Federation lasted three years and then collapsed after Jamaica and Trinidad pulled out.

Then in 1962, Trinidad and Jamaica became the first two British colonies in the Caribbean to get their independence. This began a process that continued into the 1970s of these colonies getting independence.

In the early 1970s, the Caribbean Community — Caricom — was set up. Caricom is essentially a trading bloc of Caribbean countries. The OECS was formed in 1981 by the seven smallest countries in Caricom.

Caricom and the OECS have been limited in their successes. They have really functioned as a vehicle of cooperation for capital in the region. They have failed to meet the basic human needs and legitimate economic and political aspirations of the majority of people.

Now, over the last year, there has suddenly arisen a lot of talk about the need for either a new Caribbean federation or a unitary state of Caribbean countries.

William Demas, Caricom's former sec-

retary general who now heads the Caribbean Development Bank, raised the idea in a speech a little less than a year ago. Then, a few months ago, A.N.R. Robinson, Trinidad's new prime minister, said he supported Caribbean political integration in principle and that his government was working toward that end.

Around the same time, there was a general election in St. Lucia. John Compton, who was reelected prime minister, made support for integration a major campaign issue. Compton is one of the region's most proimperialist politicians. He was a vocal supporter of the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada.

But a spotlight was put on the proposal at the end of May, when the OECS met in the British Virgin Islands. At that meeting Compton called for member states to move quickly toward integration, at least at the OECS level. James Mitchell, prime minister of St. Vincent, challenged his colleagues to put aside petty insularities and move quickly to dissolve the OECS governments into a unitary state.

Jaquith. What advantages do these political figures see in raising this idea of a unitary state?

Rojas. The harsh realities of economic survival in an increasingly competitive capitalist world market are making integration an objective necessity. These mini-

states are unable to survive economically on their own. The total population of all seven countries is only 500,000.

Unemployment rates are hovering anywhere from 25-45 percent. Poverty is worse today than it was at the time of independence. The social problem of drug abuse, particularly among young people, is getting worse.

Burdensome debt, unequal trade

Budget and trade deficits are growing at an alarming rate, leading the governments to deepen indebtedness to both local and foreign creditors. Grenada alone, for example, has a debt of over EC\$200 million [US\$75 million] or approximately EC\$2,000 [US\$750] for every Grenadian. Per capita, the Caribbean is one of the most indebted regions in the world.

Foreign export revenues are falling for the OECS countries as commodity prices on the world market remain depressed. Recently the U.S. government cut sugar quotas for the Caribbean. U.S. aid is down by 45 percent this year.

Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative, initiated in response to the 1979 Grenada and Nicaraguan revolutions, is a dismal failure. The CBI was supposed to boost the economies of the Caribbean countries, but living standards have actually declined. The European Economic Community, meanwhile, has frozen, or in some cases

Continued on next page

Trinidad conference helps advance labor solidarity

Continued from front page

domination means that working people suffer even more.

The final declaration adopted by the conference pointed to some of the ways that the colonial and semicolonial countries are superexploited. It hit out at the "deteriorating and abysmally unequal terms of trade... which have resulted in the drop in current prices paid for our countries' raw materials and primary products"; the "increasing imposition of protectionist barriers by developed capitalist countries which increasingly [limit] our key exports"; and "the exorbitant and abusive rise in interest rates."

A background paper distributed at the start of the conference pointed out that "one of the most severe effects of the economic crisis has been the problem of the foreign debt."

The Jamaican government, in a country with a population of 2.5 million, allocated 41 percent of its 1986 budget to service its foreign debt. Harsh austerity measures have led to massive layoffs and sharp rises in the cost of living, the closing of schools and health facilities, and privatization of some social services. A similar process is at work throughout the Caribbean.

But the rich creditors are well looked after. "It is a fact that most of the big creditor banks have been able to increase their profit margins excessively while entire regions are plunged into an economic and social wasteland," the declaration stated. "The Caribbean region is today a net exporter of capital to the rest of the world."

The final declaration denounced the International Monetary Fund, which dictates austerity measures to the countries of the region, with the exception of Cuba and Nicaragua, as the price of periodic renegotiation of the debt.

IMF policies, it points out, are based on a reduction of consumption and employment, and cutbacks in health care, education, housing, and other social programs. Prices for basic necessities skyrocket and currencies are devalued while wages are cut, jobs eliminated, and government enterprises turned over to private capitalists.

The crisis in the Caribbean is worsened by protectionist measures that cut off traditional markets in the imperialist countries. A case in point was the recent reduction by the U.S. government of the sugar quotas of Caribbean countries. This has led to "serious increases in unemployment and dismantling of the major industry — sugar — and a major source of income which leads to instability and ever mounting social unrest."

The conference supported the decisions of several recent labor conferences held in Havana, Cuba, and São Paulo, Brazil, that called for the cancellation of the foreign debt.

Solidarity

Although Nicaraguan representatives were unable to attend, the delegates extended their solidarity to "the workers and the people of heroic Nicaragua," supported the Contadora peace process, and opposed "the mounting imperialist intervention in

Central America.

"The participants voiced their solidarity [with] the thousands of patriots in El Salvador who fight for their independence and land led by their vanguard organization, the FMLN-FDR."

The declaration stated: "We greet the Cuban workers who, faced with an economic blockade imposed by imperialism and aggressions of every kind, unrestrainedly advance in the construction of a more just society."

The conference also supported the right to independence and self-determination of Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyane, which are all currently under U.S. or French colonial rule.

Labor unity

While the problems of working people are strikingly similar in the different countries of the Caribbean, finding ways to work together is far from easy. From the early days of colonialism the foreign masters of the Caribbean have worked to divide the peoples of the region in spite of their geographic proximity and similar climates, natural resources, and populations.

This weighs heavily on today's struggle. Inhabitants of the region speak Spanish, English, French, or Dutch depending on who their colonial masters were. Political and legal systems also reflect the colonial past.

Travel between the Caribbean nations is expensive and time-consuming. Air links are structured to meet the needs of imperialist investors. Imperialist domination of the press and electronic media deprive the workers and farmers of vital information about what is happening in neighboring countries, sometimes less than 100 miles away.

The Grenada revolution marked a breakthrough in the struggle against this isolation. The first thoroughgoing anti-imperialist revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean, it ignited intense interest throughout the region and beyond. Its strong ties with revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba built new bridges between these revolutions and fighters throughout the region.

The defeat of the revolution in Grenada was a serious blow to the growing Caribbean unity, but efforts in this direction have nevertheless continued. The need for common action grows stronger as the attacks intensify. One manifestation has been the establishment of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean

and Central America. Another has been the series of trade union conferences of which this was the fifth.

Given the scope of the challenge of building labor unity in the region, the conference marked a step forward. A broad range of unions and countries were represented. The unions are affiliated to different international federations with quite different political orientations. Others have no formal international affiliation.

The conference functioned in three languages with simultaneous translation provided throughout.

Related activities

The organizers sponsored several related activities during and after the conference. These included a meeting on South Africa addressed by Fred Dube of the African National Congress, a forum on Grenada, and an international book fair in which a wide range of publishers participated.

Following the close of the labor solidarity conference on June 24, the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) hosted a reception for conference participants. The OWTU is a leading force in the CPTU and one of the country's main unions. A number of conference delegates and observers were introduced, including members of the oil workers' union in Norway, members of the People's Organization for the Independence of Guadeloupe, a trade union delegate from the Soviet Union, and delegates from Cuba.

George Weekes, outgoing president general of the OWTU, noted that the previous government of Trinidad and Tobago had frequently barred labor leaders from Cuba and the USSR from entering the country. He voiced satisfaction that these travel restrictions had now been removed.

Errol McLeod, who replaced Weekes as OWTU president general, hailed the internationalism of Cuban working people, citing the heroism of Cuban construction workers who shed their blood when the United States invaded Grenada.

Antonio López, head of the Cuban delegation, welcomed the conference's success in uniting such disparate forces. He urged even greater unity among trade unionists — irrespective of language, culture, or political views — to fight for the needs of the working class.

Wendy Lyons is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789 in South St. Paul, Minnesota. Art Young is a correspondent for Socialist Voice, published in Canada.



Militant/Sam Manuel

Delegates at Caribbean trade union conference described how local and foreign capitalists are making working people pay for region's economic crisis.

Continued from previous page
slashed, the quotas of agricultural products they buy from the OECS countries.

It is illogical for each of these ministates to compete with each other for a shrinking share of the world capitalist market. And illogical to compete for contributions from international donor institutions.

I and others on the Caribbean left recognize that these are the realities. But we would like to take this discussion a step further than the politicians are taking it.

Jaquith. Has the U.S. government expressed an opinion on the unitary state idea?

Rojas. The Reagan administration has been careful so far to avoid any public statements. But we frankly think that Washington is pushing the idea.

All the OECS states, remember, supported the U.S. invasion of Grenada. [Prime Minister] Eugenia Charles of Dominica stood right next to Reagan when he announced it.

Each of these countries has a paramilitary force that has increased in size, and in some cases been established for the first time, through U.S. financial assistance, U.S. military advisers, and U.S. arms. Each participates in the Regional Security System, a U.S.-sponsored attempt to set up a Caribbean army. This is all part of the stepped-up militarization of the Caribbean since the Grenada invasion.

U.S. wants Caribbean army

U.S. imperialism hopes that a unitary state would bring about greater political stability in a string of potentially volatile ministates, any of which, over time, could become another Grenada 1979 because of economic and social conditions. A unitary state would help Washington create a regional army with the capacity and legitimacy to intervene in any of the seven islands against an incipient insurgency or popular mass movement.

Imperialism's strategic objective would be the creation of a pro-Western, anticommunist bloc in the Caribbean. This, in their calculations, would be an instrument to weaken and isolate the labor movement, farmers' organizations, and the left in the seven islands.

Jaquith. What is your view of the unitary state proposal?

Rojas. I and other Caribbean political activists think the discussion around this proposal poses important challenges to progressive forces in these islands. We can't respond in a knee-jerk fashion.

We think that any unitary state must be forged in the interests of the majority, not of the minority political and economic elites of the region. If it doesn't serve the interests of the working people and popular masses, it's not going to work. And we won't recommend it.

It was announced at the recent OECS meeting that there's going to be a referendum process on the unitary state proposal. This referendum process will spark a major political discussion throughout the region. Progressive organizations and political parties must play a key role in this discussion and conduct an educational campaign. We can't allow the present governments to monopolize the debate, the discussions, or the agenda of this referendum process.

We have to present an alternative, people's agenda, reflecting the legitimate interests of the Caribbean masses.

Jaquith. What specific points would a people's agenda take up?

Rojas. It's very early in the game right now, but let me throw out a few ideas for consideration by progressive forces in the seven countries.

First, whatever draft constitution is proposed, it will not be sufficient to submit it only to the parliaments of the islands. That draft must be debated outside of parliament as well — by community organizations, trade unions, organizations of youth, of small farmers, of women, professional organizations, of every organized sector of society in the seven countries. Mechanisms



Food and vegetables being loaded onto a ship in Grenada. Rojas explains that harsh realities of capitalist world market makes it difficult for seven island countries, with a total population of 500,000, to survive on their own.

have to be found for the people themselves to ultimately determine the nature of this constitution.

Economic and political rights

In my view, the constitution must guarantee economic as well as political rights — the right to employment, to education, to decent and affordable housing and health care. It must include the right to recall public officials who do not serve the interests of the masses.

Progressive organizations and individuals should pose some questions for public discussion as the debate develops.

Will unitary statehood bring about the fundamental structural transformations essential for economic growth, social justice,

and people's democracy in the region? Will it help advance the diversification of our trade and establishment of new markets? Will it help us expand economic relations with Latin America and the Eastern European countries, instead of being restricted to trading with the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, which we inherited from colonialism?

For a new unitary state to be truly independent, it would have to pursue a genuinely nonaligned foreign policy. It would have to permit political and ideological pluralism.

A truly sovereign unitary state would give substance to the growing demand of the peoples of the region that the Caribbean become a zone of peace, independence,

and development. That means a region free of all foreign military bases and military exercises such as those being orchestrated by Washington. It would organize the conversion of military expenditures to developmental purposes to wage war against poverty and backwardness.

A genuinely sovereign state has to be not only politically but culturally independent. Some controls have to be placed on the cultural invasion of our sovereignty by the United States. So-called U.S. popular culture — transmitted through television programs, films, books, comics — is now dominating Caribbean cultural life.

Mechanisms must be created for regular, mass, democratic participation in the affairs of a unitary state. Democracy must be given real substance, not lip service. It must be more than casting a vote every five years.

Jaquith. How do you see progressive forces coming together to draw up such an agenda?

Rojas. In the example of Maurice Bishop, one of the greatest Caribbean leaders of our century, we would like to put out a call to all progressive political parties, progressive trade union leaders, progressive intellectuals, and indeed to all Caribbean patriots and nationalists to begin a process of dialogue and discussion.

Call for a Caribbean conference

There is an urgent need for a meeting in one of the OECS countries to initiate this process and to begin drawing up a people's agenda. At this meeting, there should be an analysis of the failure of the West Indies Federation and of the weaknesses of Caricom and the OECS. Such a meeting could hopefully arrive at a common action program, a common platform, and a common strategy.

It is also not unrealistic, in my view, to begin thinking about the feasibility and necessity of a united progressive political party of the seven OECS countries based on a dedication to Caribbean unity and the common interests of Caribbean working people.

Why Washington is pushing merger

BY STEVE CLARK

A document clearly not intended for the public eye sheds some light on the discussions of a unitary state conducted last month by capitalist politicians in the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). A copy of the internal memorandum was obtained by the *Outlet*, a weekly newspaper published in Antigua, and quoted extensively in its June 19 issue.

James Mitchell, prime minister of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, wrote the document, which was circulated as a basis for discussion at the annual meeting of heads of state of the seven OECS nations in late May.

The document confirms the assessment by Don Rojas in the accompanying interview that the scheme is designed to increase the economic and military subordination of the Caribbean nations to imperialist interests.

"We [the OECS territories] will be more important to the security of the United States and Canada if we have a single voice speaking for a larger strategic area," Mitchell wrote. "This will improve our negotiating position in seeking to access funds for development."

Mitchell says he resolved to move more decisively on the discussion of Caribbean integration following a 1986 meeting of the boards of governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Afterwards, Mitchell asked Herbert Blaize and John Compton, prime ministers of Grenada and St. Lucia, "to make a categorical declaration of where they stood in relation to pursuing the issue seriously and with vigor."

Mitchell's document underlines the cause for concern expressed by Rojas about the undemocratic character of the projected federation. For example, it proposes that

the president of the envisioned state "shall appoint a Governor in each island to be his personal representative."

Mitchell also addressed one of many sticky points to be worked out before a unitary Caribbean state, even of the type being discussed by OECS leaders, becomes something more than an idea. What will happen to the comfortable incomes, perquisites, and pensions that top officials of the seven countries now enjoy?

Mitchell was less than subtle. "None of us as self-respecting Prime Ministers will

take the job of being Ambassadors for the OECS as now structured," he wrote. "The record of payments is too disastrous."

"But as a Union, several positions will open up in overseas representation — United States, OAS, United Nations, Canada, London, Brussels, the Far East.... We can ensure that there is a rationalization of members among our various citizens in the postings."

And what about the workers and farmers of the Caribbean? Well, first things first.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance invite you to a Socialist Educational & Active Workers Conference

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Unionists, students, and activists in the anti-war, anti-apartheid, farm, Black- and women's-rights struggles, and international fighters will be attending. Participants will discuss political situation facing working people in the U.S. and internationally. Conference will feature classes, special programs, and workshops. Translation to Spanish and French provided.

For more information contact the nearest SWP branch or YSA chapter listed on page 12.



Why gov't treats AIDS like a crime

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The federal government's primary response to the AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) crisis has been to impose police measures against those who have the disease. Washington has used fear of AIDS and the prejudice that surrounds it to bolster reactionary ideas and whittle away at the rights of the most oppressed and vulnerable sections of the population.

No effective emergency public health measures to help those who have the disease or are most in danger of contracting it — gay men and impoverished intravenous drug users — have been taken.

Halting and reversing this escalating attack will take a massive effort to tell the truth about how AIDS is really transmitted, who is most at risk, and what can be done to slow down the spread of the disease. This must include taking head-on the antigay, racist, and class prejudices that underlie the U.S. ruling families' ability to get away with their criminal neglect of the victims of AIDS.

Meese as point man

The chief administration spokesperson on AIDS has been the nation's top cop — Attorney General Edwin Meese.

His proposals? Mandatory testing for all federal inmates entering and leaving prison and for all immigrants, refugees, and undocumented workers applying for legal status.

Military recruits already have to undergo an AIDS test.

"It is odd that the Attorney General was the point man for the White House's first major initiative on AIDS rather than the Surgeon General," the editors of the weekly *The Nation*, pointed out in the June 20 issue. "But when you consider that this Administration in its heart of hearts regards AIDS as a law-and-order problem (as in, 'Lock 'em up and throw away the key') rather than a medical one, it is not so strange after all."

In announcing the mandatory testing of prisoners, Meese suggested that it might be inappropriate to grant parole to some inmates with AIDS if they posed "a danger to the community."

Education Secretary William Bennett explained on June 14 on the CBS News program "Face the Nation" that prisoners infected with the AIDS virus should be isolated and authorities should consider not releasing those who threaten to infect others after they complete their sentence.

'Guilty' and 'innocent'

Joining Bennett on television was Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.). He said that the goal of any measures in relation to AIDS has to be "to protect the people who are innocent."

That was even too much for the *New York Times* editors who asked, "Innocent? Of a disease?"

"What would happen to the guilty, those who test positive for the AIDS virus?"

Helms' response: quarantine them. "Somewhere along the line we are going to have to quarantine if we are really going to contain this disease," he said.

Quarantining, an effective measure to combat contagious diseases that can be spread through casual contact, serves no medical purpose in regard to AIDS.

In addition, there have been several cases of people being prosecuted for allegedly attempting to transmit the disease.

- A prisoner in Rochester, Minnesota, who bit two guards after testing positive for the AIDS virus, was found guilty on June 24 of assault with a deadly and dangerous weapon — his mouth and teeth. This was despite the fact that there is no scientific proof that AIDS can be transmitted through human saliva.

- In Flint, Michigan, a man infected with the AIDS virus was charged with attempted murder after he allegedly spit at police officers. He received two years probation in January, after pleading guilty to lesser charges when the judge dismissed the original charge.

- In New York City, a prostitute was charged with first-degree attempted assault and reckless endangerment for biting a police officer and then telling him she had AIDS. She was escorted into the courtroom



AIDS patient Douglas Roberts in Harlem Hospital. Most AIDS victims are gay men and impoverished IV drug users; one-third are Black or Hispanic.

by three court officers wearing surgical masks and gloves.

How AIDS is transmitted

The heart of the problem with the government's mandatory testing program is that the categories chosen have no medical validity. These are not groups who are more likely to have AIDS than the general population. The method of transmission of AIDS has prevented it from spreading evenly throughout society.

The AIDS virus is transmitted through infected blood or semen being brought into direct contact with the bloodstream. There is no substantial evidence that AIDS is passed through any other bodily fluids: vaginal secretions, saliva, tears, or mucus.

Those who engage in repeated anal intercourse are prime victims of AIDS because anal intercourse often breaks the skin, and the rectal area has many blood vessels near the surface. It's much more difficult to transmit AIDS during vaginal intercourse. That's why gay men are the primary targets of the infection.

Impoverished intravenous drug users, who share needles without sterilizing them, can easily pass AIDS to each other.

In addition, 70 percent of all hemophiliacs are infected with the virus, mostly as a result of transfusions of contaminated blood before donor testing for AIDS was instituted.

In the United States, 93 percent of all victims are men; 38 percent are Black or Hispanic.

These are the high-risk categories; not prisoners, immigrants, and soldiers.

Medical vs. police approach

If mandatory testing would actually slow down the spread of AIDS, if it would save lives, then supporters of civil liberties would have to back it as an elementary public health measure.

Far from being a question of health versus civil liberties, however, it's a question of a medical approach versus a police approach. Mandatory testing is not a medical response to AIDS.

For one thing, there is no cure for AIDS. Secondly, those most likely to be infected with the virus will avoid getting tested be-

cause of the stigma attached to being an AIDS carrier.

The only value of testing is that individuals who have the virus know that they are infected and could infect others. But if someone has reason to think they might be infected with the AIDS virus, they can go get a test voluntarily and confidentially.

Why make it mandatory? And why prisoners, immigrants, and soldiers? If it is mandatory, why not college students and professors, businessmen and bankers, journalists and cops?

The categories are chosen for political reasons, not medical reasons.

Mandatory AIDS testing allows the authorities to fan divisions among prisoners, set up special segregation units under the guise of medical need, and provide a list that can be used against rebellious elements.

In the case of immigrants, mandatory AIDS testing is another way of bolstering the notion that working people who come here from other countries are different, dirty, and dangerous. This facilitates the employers' efforts to separate out undocumented workers as a pariah caste, which can be paid low wages and forced to labor under the worst conditions of all.

Rank-and-file soldiers — who in their great majority are simply workers and farmers in uniform — are another large group of working people the government doesn't think is protected by the Bill of Rights. In this case, too, AIDS testing allows greater repression and control, as well as giving the brass a list of people who should be discharged before their medical bills get too high.

'Equal-risk' scam

The government's callous disregard for the lives of those who are in high-risk groups, combined with its use of AIDS for police repression, is accomplished under the guise that everyone is equally at risk of getting AIDS — men and women; gay and straight; Black and white. If the rulers really believed that, they'd begin testing at prep schools and country clubs, not prisons.

The argument that everyone is equally at risk of contracting AIDS gives a cover to the government's murderous refusal to target for education and medical help those

groups that comprise the vast majority of AIDS cases in this country — gay men and impoverished intravenous drug users. Mandatory testing allows the government to claim it's doing something while the disease reaches epidemic proportions among gay men in San Francisco and New York and among IV drug users.

Unfortunately, some authoritative scientists and gay rights activists who want to see something serious done about AIDS have echoed the view that everyone is equally at risk of contracting the disease.

Where Gould goes wrong

In a column in the April 19 *New York Times Magazine*, the popular biologist from Harvard University, Stephen Jay Gould, struck a note of utter panic.

Gould called the spread of AIDS a "pandemic," that is, an epidemic that has a broad geographical spread and hits an exceptionally high proportion of the population.

This ignores the fact that one of the most striking things about the disease is that its spread has not been general.

The AIDS "pandemic," Gould claimed, "may rank with nuclear weaponry as the greatest danger of our era."

"We are all susceptible to AIDS, and the disease has been spreading in a simple exponential manner," Gould continued. By exponential he means basically limitless: "Nothing in the external environment inhibits this increase."

Gould goes so far as to predict that "AIDS may run through the entire population, and may carry off a quarter or more of us." AIDS, he said, is "potentially, the greatest natural tragedy in human history."

But that could only be true if the virus were spread through casual contact.

The burden of proof is on Gould and those who agree with him to explain why in the United States, which has by far the most reported cases of AIDS, it is so specifically concentrated among gay men and drug users.

'If Park Avenue had been hit ...'

What lies behind such an irresponsible approach by someone of Gould's scientific stature?

"What a tragedy," Gould states, "that our moral stupidity caused us to lose precious time, the greatest enemy in fighting an exponential spread, by downplaying the danger because we thought that AIDS was a disease of three irregular groups: minorities of life style (needle users), of sexual preference (homosexuals), and of color (Haitians). If AIDS had first been imported from Africa into a Park Avenue apartment, we would not have dithered as the exponential march began."

Gould, like many supporters of gay rights, fears that unless the government and the people are convinced that everyone is equally at risk, nothing will be done about the disease. They know that those who run this country, while they are forced to tolerate homosexuals, don't view them as truly human.

Gould is correct in pointing out that the sexual preference, class, and race of the primary victims of AIDS are behind the government's refusal to deal with it seriously.

Those who really want to see something done about AIDS, yet bolster the myth that everyone has the same chance of contracting the disease, don't answer the antigay prejudice and lend credence to the government's calls for mandatory testing.

The real issue has to be posed honestly and sharply: should AIDS victims be treated the same as any other human beings with a disease?

The U.S. rulers say no.

Working people in the United States, and all those who really want to do something effective against AIDS, must reject the reactionary moves and ideas peddled by Meese and company.

We must tell the truth that everyone who gets AIDS is a human being and deserves to be treated as such — whether they're gay, addicted to drugs, or prostitutes, or whether they are Black or Latino.

AIDS poses the question — are men who prefer homosexual relations human too? Unless we can answer an unequivocal "yes," all of our rights — and many of our lives — will be threatened.

How U.S. gov't tried to silence Blacks during World War II

The following is an excerpt from an article in the coming issue of *New International* (No. 6, 1987), a magazine of Marxist politics and theory.

The article, "Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation," by Larry Seigle, describes the evolution of the concentration of political police powers in the hands of the executive branch of the government since the years just before World War II. It details the growth of FBI operations against trade unionists, Black rights fighters, and other opponents of government policy — as well as the fight against these attacks on democratic rights.

The following excerpt is from the section of the article entitled, "Target: Black Fight for Equal Rights."

This issue of *New International* is scheduled for publication this month.

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The employing class and its government set a high priority on isolating those who opposed the use of U.S. military forces to defend capitalist interests overseas. The U.S. rulers foresaw a war in which their vast empire would emerge dominant over its imperialist rivals, and after which they would rule unchallenged over peoples of color in the expanded parts of the globe staked out for U.S. capital. Undisputed power in the "American Century" that they anticipated was beginning would allow them to rule without difficulty at home: holding the working class down and keeping "the colored" under control. At the same time, they hoped that the war launched by imperialist Germany against the Soviet Union would sufficiently weaken the workers' state to make possible its future overthrow and, once again open that vast territory to capitalism.

As Washington prepared to enter the war under the banner of fighting the white-supremacist Nazi regime and its allies, Blacks in the United States were battling racist oppression. This struggle centered on the fight to overturn segregation, which existed not just in the South but in every federal government institution throughout the land and to a large extent in private industry and many aspects of social life.

During the decade of the Great Depression, Black working people had suffered even more than their white counterparts. Unemployment among workers who were Black was much higher than among workers who were white. Black farmers lost their land at an even higher rate than did white farmers. Education, health care, and other social services were qualitatively worse for Blacks.

Jim Crow segregation

In many parts of the country, particularly in the South, Blacks were systematically denied the right to vote. Segregation laws were backed up with extralegal terror to intimidate those who tried to organize to change these conditions. Lynchings were frequent in the Jim Crow South. The membership of racist terror outfits such as the Ku Klux Klan was intertwined with the cops, courts, and government officials. Throughout the country, police violence and frame-ups of Black defendants were widespread. Even the labor movement was segregated in much of the country. Many craft unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) organized to exclude Blacks from membership, and many AFL unions maintained separate locals for Blacks and whites in southern states.

The rise of the industrial union movement in the mid-1930s marked a big step forward in the struggle against segregation. The new industrial unions opened more doors for Black workers, often actively soliciting their participation in the unionization of basic industry. Militant Black workers had an opportunity to demonstrate their leadership capacities in many labor battles. But race barriers still existed, including within the labor movement itself.

On the eve of the war, the percentage of

Black workers in basic industry was still quite low. Most plants engaged in war-related production still refused to hire workers who were Black. Federally funded job-training programs would not enroll Blacks on the grounds that war plants would not hire them anyway.

The U.S. armed forces were segregated from top to bottom. Blacks were assigned to all-Black units under white officers or were relegated to be cooks, porters, laborers, or servants for the white officer corps. The idea of large numbers of Black soldiers in combat, let alone Black officers with the right to command on an equal basis with their white counterparts, was still unthinkable to the military brass and their superiors in Washington.

A measure of the degree of racism that Blacks faced in the military, and in society as a whole, was an order issued at an army camp in Pennsylvania at the beginning of the war. The camp commander proclaimed that "any association between the colored soldiers and white women, whether voluntary or not, would be considered rape." Under pressure from the NAACP, the War Department was forced in January 1942 to cancel the order.

Time had come

More and more Black people decided that the time had come to step up the fight against this kind of racist oppression. If the United States had entered the war in the name of democracy and against Nazi doctrines of white race superiority, then the fight for changes at home could no longer be postponed. Moreover, as the war unfolded overseas, the rise of national liberation struggles, particularly in Asia and the Pacific, inspired confidence and greater militancy in the fight against racial oppression at home. While the imperialist powers fought each other over redivision of the planet, many colonial peoples seized the opportunity to advance the fight to take control of their own destinies. Inside the United States, peoples of color likewise saw an opportunity to step up the fight for their rights.

The U.S. rulers, however, portrayed the fight for equal rights for Blacks as "disruption of the war effort." Supporters of the government in the labor movement and in Black organizations argued that the battle against racism at home, while a worthy one, should nonetheless be kept in check until after a U.S. victory in the war. The fight against racist discrimination, they argued, must not be allowed to go so far as to interfere with the "national unity" needed to win the war. This position was advanced by liberals, by the social democratic Socialist Party, and by the Stalinized Communist Party.

A growing number of Blacks, especially the youth, refused to accept this excuse for inaction. A young worker at an aircraft plant in Wichita, Kansas, captured the sentiment of this growing militancy in a letter published in January 1942 by one of the major newspapers aimed at Black people, the *Pittsburgh Courier*:

Most of our leaders are suggesting that we sacrifice every other ambition to the paramount one, victory. With this I agree; but I also wonder if another victory could not be achieved at the same time. . . .

Being an American of dark complexion . . . these questions flash through my mind: "Should I sacrifice my life to live half American?" "Will things be better for the next generation in the peace to follow?" "Would it be demanding too much to demand full citizenship rights in exchange for the sacrificing of my life?" "Is the kind of America I know worth defending?" . . .

I suggest that while we keep defense and victory in the forefront that we don't lose sight of our fight for true democracy at home.

The V for victory sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries which are fighting for victory over aggression, slavery and tyranny. If this V sign means that to those now engaged in this great conflict, then let we colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within. For surely those who perpetuate these ugly prej-



Cop makes arrest during 1943 antiracist revolt in Harlem

udices here are seeking to destroy our democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis forces.

Double V

The *Pittsburgh Courier* picked up this suggestion and launched what it called the "Double V" campaign. This campaign reverberated throughout the country, drawing its power from its expression of the determination among many Blacks not to accept continued postponement of their demands for full citizenship rights.

The FBI was working overtime to counter this growing civil rights fight. The facts about the FBI's crusade against the Black movement in this period unfortunately remain largely unknown and only sketchily documented publicly. What is known, however, makes it abundantly clear that the FBI's campaign of slander, frame-up, blackmail, and assassination against Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, the Black Panther Party, and other fighters for Black rights in the 1960s was not an aberration. It was the continuation of a course that began the day that the Roosevelt administration called on the FBI to go after "subversives."

In fact, from the standpoint of the Justice Department and FBI, the Black population as a whole was, if not subversive, at least suspect. The FBI prepared a secret wartime "Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States" for the benefit of the Roosevelt ad-

ministration. In this 714-page report, the FBI explored the question — deeply troubling to them — of "why particular Negroes or groups of Negroes or Negro organizations have evidenced sentiments for other 'dark races' (mainly Japanese), or by what forces they were influenced to adopt in certain instances un-American ideologies."

The FBI survey concluded that while it might be going too far to say that "Negroes as a whole or the Negro people in a particular area are subversive or are influenced by anti-American forces . . . it must be pointed out that a number of Negroes and Negro groups have been the subjects of concentrated investigation made on the basis that they have repeatedly acted or have exhibited sentiments in a manner inimical to the Nation's war effort."

The FBI focused particular attention on newspapers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier*, whose nationwide circulation had skyrocketed with its Double V campaign. The report decried the fact that "the Negro press is a strong provocator of discontent among Negroes." (Like all cops, the FBI insists that "discontent" is created not by injustice and oppression but by instigators and agitators.) The secret FBI report went on to complain that the "general tone" of the Black press "is not at all, in many instances, informative or helpful to its own

Continued on Page 13



New International
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"The 50-year
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By Larry Seigle

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'Newsweek' story has Cardinal Obando tongue-tied

"Notes from Nicaragua" is a column prepared by Cindy Jaquith, Roberto Kopec, and Harvey McArthur of the Militant's bureau in Managua.

Miguel Obando y Bravo, the Catholic cardinal in Nicaragua, has been staying out of sight since the June 15 *Newsweek* hit the stands. The magazine reports evidence that Obando's archdiocese received hundreds of thousands

of dollars from Oliver North as part of the U.S. government's contra war against Nicaragua.

When the *Barricada* reporters pointed out that the story had appeared in a prestigious U.S. magazine, Obando snapped back: "And the Cuban news agencies too!"

In interviews with foreign reporters, Obando has claimed the *Newsweek* revelations are aimed at undermining his bid to win the Nobel Peace Prize this year.

Since Obando won't talk to the news media of Nicaragua, *Barricada* has been printing statements the cardinal is making to reporters from other countries. *Barricada* also published the full *Newsweek* story in Spanish, so Nicaraguan workers and farmers can read it.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has announced that the central rally celebrating the eighth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution will take place in the city of Matagalpa.

Matagalpa is situated in the mountainous north of the country, where Washington's contras continue to carry out terror attacks, including the April murder of U.S.

engineer Ben Linder. FSLN leader Bayardo Arce said Matagalpa was selected because it is "one of the main symbols of our concrete achievements and our sacrifices in bringing about the strategic defeat of the contras."

He explained that the government is organizing only residents of Matagalpa, and some nearby



Militant/Roberto Kopec
Miguel Obando y Bravo, Catholic cardinal in Nicaragua. *Newsweek* reports he got huge sums from U.S. government.

areas, to attend this year's July 19 anniversary celebration. He cited the difficulty of providing military protection for peasants coming in from remote areas and the country's severe financial limitations.

Arce also said the government is not issuing international invitations to this year's rally. The purpose of the rally will be to "concentrate on the internal situation, on political-ideological work with our people," he said. He called on Nicaragua's supporters around the world to "stand by our side" July 19 by holding solidarity activities in their own countries.

International visitors who are already in Nicaragua at the time of the rally will be able to attend, he said. This includes those invited for Nicaragua's first International Book Fair, scheduled to begin the day after the July 19 rally.

Plans for the International Book Fair were announced at a news conference by Nicaragua's Ministry of Culture. The fair will take place July 20-26 in Managua.

Some 125 publishers from Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe, and the United States have confirmed their participation in the event.

Among the prominent artists who will attend are Uruguayan novelist Eduardo Galeano, Ger-

man novelist Günter Grass, Cuban singer Silvio Rodríguez, British rock star Billy Bragg, and from the United States, novelist Alice Walker, poet Allen Ginsberg, and exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus.

The Ministry of Culture is making a special effort to encourage private and church publishing houses inside Nicaragua to participate, so as to reflect the entire range of literature available to the Nicaraguan public.

Publishing houses that participate in the fair are being asked to donate two copies of each book they display to Nicaragua's national library. This will help overcome the severe shortage of foreign titles in Nicaragua due to the government's inability to pay for importing most books.

It was reported that 22 U.S. publishers will be at the fair, including Monthly Review Press, Pathfinder, Orbis Books, and Curbstone Press.

Alejandro Bravo, director of the fair, told reporters that the U.S. Information Service (USIS), an official U.S. government agency, will also have a booth.

The USIS, he said, submitted a list of its books to the Nicaraguan government, expecting some titles to be banned from the fair. "We told them that here, we don't censor books," said Bravo.

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

of dollars from Oliver North as part of the U.S. government's contra war against Nicaragua.

While Obando made statements to foreign reporters, calling the *Newsweek* story "a falsehood," Nicaraguan reporters have tried in vain to get the cardinal to make a statement to them.

Reporters from *Barricada*, the Sandinista daily, finally cornered Obando at a Managua gas station when his chauffeur stopped to buy fuel. They explained that they had tried without success to reach him at his office.

"We don't work on Mondays," the cardinal said.

Asked to comment on the *News-*

Nicaragua hits U.S. threats to Panama sovereignty

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry has called on "all governments of Latin America and the Caribbean to close ranks in defense of Panamanian sovereignty and independence" and to demand that Washington respect the Panama Canal treaties.

The June 28 appeal came as Washington stepped up its threats against Panama, sending more U.S. troops to the Canal Zone and demanding, by way of a U.S. Senate resolution, the ouster of Panamanian Gen. Manuel Noriega. The latest U.S. actions follow coup threats provoked by Panamanian forces with ties to the U.S. government.

Nicaragua shares the outrage of Panama at the U.S. actions, the Foreign Ministry

statement said, "because we have been and continue to be living with the nightmare of imperialist intervention. For our people and government, any foreign aggression against any Latin American or Caribbean people is an aggression against all of the Americas."

Calling for other nations to rally behind Panama, the Foreign Ministry stated: "We will only be respected when we're seen as firm and monolithically united in defense of the sovereign rights of every one of our countries."

On June 24 Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega went to Panama for a meeting with President Eric Arturo Delvalle. Ortega charged that Washington was trying both to undo the Aug. 10, 1977, Torrijos-Carter treaties that call for an end to U.S. control

of the Panama Canal in 1999, and to undermine Panama's role in negotiations for an end to the contra war in Nicaragua.

In repelling the U.S.-orchestrated coup attempts, Ortega said, the Panamanian people had acted "not only in defense of Panamanian sovereignty but also in defense of Latin American interests."

On June 28 President Delvalle called on "the free nations of the world" to condemn Washington's threats against his government. Delvalle said it was "inconceivable" that the U.S. Senate would "try to dictate measures to a foreign government, openly contradicting the principles of independence and liberty molded in the U.S. Constitution."

The day before, the Panamanian armed forces released a statement in response to the U.S. Senate resolution. The June 28 Sandinista daily *Barricada* featured the statement on its front page.

The armed forces statement charged that

Washington is trying to turn Central America "into a giant theater of war." At the same time, it is trying to "create conditions to deny the Panamanian people their legitimate rights according to the Torrijos-Carter treaties."

The declaration reported that the U.S. government has recently increased the number of U.S. troops in Panama, "without the permission of Panamanian authorities and in open violation of the canal treaties, which regulate the deployment of U.S. troops in our territory."

The U.S. Senate resolution, it said, represents a deepening of the "interventionist action" of Washington and is an arrogant challenge to Panamanian sovereignty.

"No free people of the Americas," it declared, "accepts the idea of a world cop anymore... and much less the attitude of rampant interventionism by some U.S. senators who want to revive the ill-fated practices that history has buried."

Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' July issue: Cuban union leader speaks

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. PM is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The July issue features an interview with Jesús Antonio Escandell, secretary of international relations of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions.

Workers in every factory in Cuba are taking part in a "rectification process," a deep political discussion to solve problems of waste, inefficiency, and poor quality of goods.

Socialism can't be built only on the basis of economic mechanisms and incentives, Escandell explains. "Political consciousness is needed." He lays out what this new process means for Cuban workers and the role of the trade unions in it.

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Ortega to attend summit talks

Continued from front page

with President Delvalle, exchanging viewpoints, we decided to be flexible and say okay: if four Central American presidents are in favor of the meeting taking place August 6-7, we'll be there."

He said that a factor in the decision was the Panamanian government's membership in the Contadora Group, which also includes the governments of Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia. The stated purpose of the Contadora Group is to find a negotiated solution to the Central American military conflicts.

Ortega said that in recent months, there has been "a paralysis" of the negotiating process. Washington, he added, would like to "liquidate Contadora."

In agreeing to attend the August meeting, Ortega said that "it is indispensable in the time that's left until then that Contadora play an active role, that it contribute to finding points of agreement among the Central American governments around the different proposals for peace and specifically around the peace proposal of President Oscar Arias."

On June 26 Ortega addressed a rally here in Managua where he again explained the decision to attend the August 6-7 meeting. "Nicaragua didn't agree" with the new

dates, he said, "and therefore, up until the last moment, we defended the June 25-26 dates."

"But some Central American governments remained close-minded. The U.S. pressure was very strong. So, in a further act of flexibility, because we really want peace, we accepted the new dates."

Had the Nicaraguan government maintained the stance of not participating in the August meeting, he said, Washington would charge that the Sandinistas are blocking negotiations and use this as a justification to step up the contra war.

In his speech, Ortega also took up a story in some U.S. newspapers that Nicaragua has 17 or 20 MIG fighter jets at a base in Cuba and that 40 Nicaraguans have been trained to pilot them.

The aim of these news stories, Ortega charged, is to spread the idea that "Nicaragua is arming itself in a disproportionate manner, that we are a danger, a threat."

"Of course it is totally false that we have 17 or 20 MIGs in Cuba," he said. "It's not true."

Pointing out at the crowd, Ortega declared to cheers that "the MIGs are here! Every Nicaraguan has a combat capacity greater than a MIG. And we can bring together more than 3 million MIGs to fight the Yankee invaders."

Burkina's defense committees build support for revolution

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The town of Dédougou, in the western part of Burkina Faso, was swamped March 30-April 3 with political activists from throughout the country. Men and women, young and old, they included many of the most committed participants in the revolutionary process that has been under way in that West African country for the past four years.

The 1,700 people who converged on Dédougou were delegates of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), the mass-membership organizations that constitute the bedrock of the revolution's support. They were attending the second national conference of the CDRs.

Among the observers were two special international guests, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto and J.Y. Assasie, who heads neighboring Ghana's Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

The conference delegates focused their discussions on ways to overcome Burkina's legacy of poverty and underdevelopment. They resolved to promote domestic industry, take further measures to halt the southward advance of the Sahara Desert, and support the ambitious economic development goals outlined in the government's current five-year economic plan. They approved plans for a vast countrywide mobilization to build more roads, schools, and other projects.

Burkina's President Thomas Sankara told the assembled delegates that it is no longer sufficient to denounce imperialism. "It must be confronted in the economic field," he said, "by undermining all the material bases that it uses to perpetuate its domination over our economy."

'Sovereign masters'

The CDRs are the main organizations upon which the governing National Council of the Revolution relies to insure popular participation in the revolutionary struggle. They also provide a forum through which the people can express their views.

The tasks of the CDRs include military defense, popular mobilization, and political education. They have been involved in literacy programs, construction projects, implementation of agrarian reform measures, and vaccination mobilizations.

According to their statutes, the CDRs are "the instrument that the people have themselves forged in order to become the sovereign masters of their own destiny."

The first CDRs arose within just a few days after Sankara and his colleagues seized power on Aug. 4, 1983. Since then, they have spread throughout the country, into all of Burkina's more than 7,000 villages.

The most numerous CDRs are those based on geographic region: either a rural village or an urban neighborhood. In addition, each trade, factory, office, school, or marketplace also has a CDR, grouping members on the basis of their occupation.

The CDRs are open to all citizens. Their basic decision-making bodies are the general assemblies — regular meetings of CDR members to discuss and vote on whatever key questions come up. These assemblies also elect local executive bureaus.

Above the local CDRs are the departmental CDR committees, of which there are 300 in the country. Above them are the 30 provincial committees. The highest CDR body is the national conference, such as the one held in Dédougou.

On a day-to-day basis, however, the activities of the CDRs are coordinated by a National General Secretariat, currently headed by Capt. Pierre Ouédraogo.

Elders, women, youth

A few weeks before the Dédougou conference, I had a chance to talk with Pierre Ouédraogo at the CDR headquarters in Ouagadougou, Burkina's capital.

Since my previous visit to Burkina, two years earlier, the CDRs had helped launch several other mass organizations, such as the National Union of Burkinabè Elders (UNAB), the Women's Union of Burkina (UFB), and the National Pioneers Movement (MNP). I asked Ouédraogo about

this.

"The UNAB was created because the older people had hesitated to throw themselves into the revolution," Ouédraogo responded. "They were uneasy about coming into the CDRs where the youths were burning with impatience."

This was a problem, Ouédraogo pointed out, since in the countryside older people ("elders," as they are called) carry considerable authority. "With organization, the elders can participate actively in the revolution. Those elders who don't support the revolution are combated by those who do."

The Women's Union of Burkina was established for a similar reason, Ouédraogo said, to make it easier for women to step forward. The severe oppression of women in traditional Burkinabè society had made it difficult for them to play as active a role as men within the CDRs.

Similarly, the National Pioneers Movement was set up for children who want to be politically active, but who are still too young to be CDR members.

And several weeks after my discussion with Ouédraogo, yet another mass organization was launched, the National Peasants Union of Burkina.

Encourage production

In response to a question about the CDRs' role in Burkina's struggle for economic development, Ouédraogo stressed, "The role of the CDRs is to exercise people's power. That implies economic tasks, but not directly production tasks. The CDRs have a political role, to sensitize and mobilize the masses . . . to encourage them to produce."

Getting the people themselves actively involved, through the CDRs and other



Militant/Ernest Harsch
CDR General Secretary Pierre Ouédraogo

mass organizations, has been the key to the advances that Burkina has already made since the beginning of the revolution, Ouédraogo said.

He cited the example of the many new water reservoirs that have been built in the past few years, compared to earlier periods. "Thanks to this popular participation, we were able to advance much faster," Ouédraogo emphasized.

Representatives of the CDRs and other mass organizations were involved in the discussions that preceded the drafting of the five-year economic plan.

"It's this popular aspect that should be noted in the five-year plan," Ouédraogo said. "That makes it different from the other planning documents for Burkina Faso, which were drawn up by teams of foreign experts. This one was elaborated with the participation of the people, and it will be carried out under the supervision of the people's organizations."

Combating errors and abuses

The organization and functioning of Burkina's CDRs have not been without problems and difficulties. As an impoverished country with poor communications and an illiteracy rate that surpasses 90 percent, the process of strengthening the

CDRs and involving the population more directly in their activities has been uneven.

Some of the earliest CDRs, especially in sections of the countryside, came under the sway of conservative village chiefs or supporters of the bourgeois political parties that existed before the revolution. Many of these soon became exposed, and new local leaderships were elected.

In addition, according to Ouédraogo, "some leaders were not up to the task, some had a poor understanding of power, others abused the masses in order to occupy posts, without at the same time having the revolutionary conviction and adequate training to assume their responsibilities."

During the previous national conference of the CDRs, in April 1986, a major campaign was opened to combat such abuses. President Sankara sharply condemned the growth of "bureaucratism" within the CDRs, a tendency by some provincial CDR leaders to behave like "veritable potentates," and instances of local CDR activists using their positions to engage in theft and extortion.

Since then, a process of organizational "renewal" has been opened up, Ouédraogo explained. Nearly 200,000 local CDR leaders and activists were newly elected or

Continued on Page 13



Militant/Ernest Harsch
Activists at a neighborhood CDR headquarters in Ouagadougou.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

40,000 West Germans protest apartheid

Some 40,000 people marched in Frankfurt, West Germany, June 20 to demand, "Freedom for South Africa and Namibia," Lüko Willms reports from Frankfurt.

The action was called by the Kirchentag Against Apartheid, a coalition formed last year of more than 200 groups, church parishes, and individuals. Kirchentag is a biennial lay gathering of West Germany's Protestant churches, and the group was set up to introduce an anti-apartheid theme into this year's gathering.

More than 120,000 people came to the four-day Kirchentag, and many participants wore the yellow scarves sold by the anti-apartheid campaign. A day-long forum on South Africa drew 6,000 participants, who voted overwhelmingly to demand that the official church bodies press the federal government to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Speakers at the rally that culminated the march included Moses Omeb from the Church Council of Namibia, and Francis Meli of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

Jan Niemöller, a member of West Germany's Council of Protestant Churches, blasted the West German banks, which are among the main creditors of the apartheid regime.

Günter Volkmar, president of the Union of Trade, Bank, and Insurance Workers, backed the demonstration's call for sanctions and declared that the West German government must "no longer be the last bridgehead of apartheid on the European continent."

Netherlands slashes aid to Nicaragua

Next year, the government of the Netherlands will drastically cut back the aid that it is giving to Nicaragua, Dutch officials based in Managua have revealed.

Since 1980 the Netherlands has provided Nicaragua with \$300 million in direct aid and loans. This year the amount of aid alone comes to \$12 million, including for development projects in ports, agriculture, and health. Until now, it remained the only member of the European Economic Community to pro-

vide aid to Nicaragua at such levels.

According to Maryke Haanraads, assistant coordinator of the Dutch international development agency in Managua, the current bilateral aid program will be replaced next year by a regional aid package that will provide more assistance to El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

The amount of aid to be assigned to Nicaragua is to be decided by the Dutch parliament in September or October. "We do expect the aid to Nicaragua to be considerably less," Haanraads said.

When asked if the cutbacks were for political reasons, she replied, "In general terms, yes, you can draw that conclusion."

Shultz grilled on nuke tests in S. Pacific

During a visit to Western Samoa, in the South Pacific, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was barraged with angry questions about the ongoing French nuclear testing in the region, and Washington's own nuclear policies.

At a June 22 news conference in Apia, the country's capital, Shultz defended French nuclear testing as a deterrent against the Soviet Union and claimed that it was safe.

"Meanwhile," a reporter declared, "the water of the South Pacific will be completely contaminated by nuclear fallout. People on this side of the world, the South Pacific, who have nothing to do with nuclear tests, will be the ones that suffer."

Palestinians in Israel strike for equality

A one-day protest strike in Israel June 24 won overwhelming participation from the 700,000 Palestinians who hold Israeli citizenship.

Palestinian schools and business were shut down, and most Palestinian workers refused to go to work. The strike also spread to the West Bank, which has been occupied by Israel for the past 20 years.

Although Palestinians with Israeli citizenship have a right to vote, they are discriminated against in public spending, employment, education, and services. "We demand equal treatment," declared Nazir Mujali, a spokesperson for the strike committee.

THE GREAT SOCIETY

Getting fussy? — "I don't want you to be caught short — but I don't want to have to resort to holding up gas stations on my way



Harry Ring

home from work at night either." — Note from Colonel North in that predated correspondence intended to show he paid for that home security system.

Always exaggerating — An

MIT study found that a nuclear attack aimed only at refineries and oil ports would devastate the economy, leaving mass starvation and "near medieval" conditions for decades. The government said the recovery would come sooner.

Maybe it went to the wrong account — Eugene Hasenfus, who got shot down dropping supplies to the Nicaraguan contras, is \$30,000 in hock for legal and other expenses that the government has reneged on paying. Elliott Abrams had assured, "Everything will be taken care of."

Oh — "Confucian concepts of moral government remain strong

in South Korea." — *Washington Post*.

Uh huh — "In South Korea, where Confucian tradition teaches reverence for higher learning, student protest has a long tradition." — *New York Times*.

Now it's clear — "A country with few democratic traditions — and a strong legacy of Confucian reverence for authority." — *Newsweek*.

Sounds sensible — Noting that since 1945 Washington has sunk \$10 trillion into the anti-Soviet drive, scientist Carl Sagan suggests: "For \$5 trillion we could have made major progress toward

eliminating hunger, homelessness, infectious disease, illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty — not just in the United States, but worldwide."

It figures — Albert Lowry, noted for books and seminars on how to parlay a shoe string into a fortune, filed for bankruptcy, claiming a checking account balance of \$11.68.

On meeting needs and aspirations — Lockheed honchos say they're "dedicated to serving both human needs and human aspirations." Sure. Like churning out weapons, pushing their workers for concessions and, recently, declaring a 40 percent hike in stockholder dividends.

A gut-buster — *Textile World* salutes Springs Mills, with particular appreciation for the "bold wit" of its early ads: "The most famous of these features a scantily dressed squaw emerging from a bedsheet hammock on which lies an exhausted-looking fellow in a headress. The caption: A buck well spent on a Springmaid sheet."

No givebacks there — Chrysler execs get those cars with the disconnected odometers washed, serviced, and tanked up gratis at the company garage. At GM, the five top dogs make it to work in chauffeur-driven company cars. At Ford, the big fellas are given a new car yearly.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Cuba: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, participant in recent Venceremos Brigade trip to Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 11, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland (East Bay) Socialist Summer School.

Series I. Forging a New Revolutionary Leadership.

Sat., July 11. Class 1: "The Russian Revolution: 1917 and Today," 3-5 p.m.; Class 2: "Why Revolutionary Socialists Defend the Soviet Union Today," 7-9 p.m.

Sat., July 18, 3-5 p.m. Class 3: "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop."

Sat., July 25, 3-5 p.m. Class 4: "What Causes War — How To Fight It."

Series II. How to Transform the Unions.

Sat., Aug. 1. Class 1: "How Capitalist Exploitation Works and Why We Need Unions," 1-3 p.m.; Class 2: "How Our Unions Were Built: Lessons for Today's Militants," 3:30-5:30 p.m.

Sun., Aug. 2. Class 3: "Winning Labor's Allies," 10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.; Class 4: "The Labor Bureaucracy and the Aristocrats of Labor," 2-4 p.m.

All classes translated to Spanish and held at 3808 E 14th St. Donation: eight classes, \$6; single class, \$1. Sponsors: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (415) 261-3014 or 658-8898.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Labor Movement in El Salvador: an Eyewitness Report and Slideshow. Speaker: Ernest Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 702. Visited El Salvador and Nicaragua on Postal Workers for Peace tour. Translation to Spanish. Tue., July 14, 7 p.m. 132 Cone NW. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

IOWA

Des Moines

Socialist Educational Weekend. Issues in the 'Baby M' Case. Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 18, 7 p.m.

The Propaganda War Against Women's Rights.

Two classes based on the book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. Speaker: Pat Grogan. Sun., July 19. Class 1, 11 a.m.-1 p.m.; Class 2, 3-4 p.m.

All events at 2105 Forest Ave. Donations: \$2 each class, \$5 for weekend. Sponsors: Des Moines, Iowa; Austin, Minnesota; and Omaha, Nebraska, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Socialist Summer School. Learn about the origins and development of revolutionary working-class politics.

"The Communist Manifesto." Two classes by James Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Class 1: Sat., July 11, 1:30 p.m.; Class 2: Sun., July 12, 1:30 p.m.

"Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." Two classes on Frederick Engels' pamphlet. Class 1: Sat., July 18, 1:30 p.m.; Class 2: Sun., July 19, 1:30 p.m.

"Lenin's Unfinished Fight: the Future of the Soviet Union." Speaker: Doug Jenness, coeditor of the *Militant*. Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m.

"Renewal or Death." A class on a recent speech by Fidel Castro. Sat., July 25, 1:30 p.m.

"Celebration of the Cuban Revolution." Speakers: Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Cuba; Lenore Foerster, instructor at Maryland Institute College of Art, twice visited Cuba. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m.

"Important Problems for the Whole of International Revolutionary Thought." A class on a Castro speech on the road to building socialism. Sat., Aug. 1, 1:30 p.m.

All events at 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations requested. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Working People Under Attack: the New Immigration Law. Speakers: Franz Minuty, Committee in Solidarity With Haiti; Aaron Ruby, chairperson, Boston Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., July 11, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For

more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

U.S. Labor at the Crossroads. Speaker: Mac Warren, member of Political Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Nicaragua Work Brigades: What They Are and How You Can Join One. Speakers: former brigadistas. Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

U.S. Navy Out of Persian Gulf! — Role of the United States in the Iran-Iraq War. Speaker: Mike Italie, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 11, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Why the U.S. Government Frames Up Puerto Rican Activists and What We Can Do to Fight It. Speakers: Elias Castro Ramos, one of the Hartford 16 defendants and organizer of the Teachers Federation of Puerto Rico; Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers Party; Roger Wareham, New York 8+ defendant; Zoilo Torres, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights and United Auto Workers District 65 organizer for the Hispanic Committee. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 10, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Ireland in Struggle. Speaker: Martha McClelland, Sinn Féin. Sun., July 12, 6 p.m. Community Center, 647 Columbus Ave. (btw. 91st and 92nd Sts.). Donation requested. Sponsors: Irish Women's Studies Group, Militant Labor Forum, Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Socialist Summer School. Class series on the

history of the revolutionary party.

Sun., July 12. "The Regeneration of American Communism," 11 a.m.; "The Turn to Mass Work," 2 p.m.; "The Entry Into the Socialist Party and Formation of the Socialist Workers Party," 4 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Sponsors: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Socialist Summer School. Three classes on *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels. Sundays at 2 p.m. on July 12, 19, and 26. 2521 Market Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

TEXAS

Houston

Socialist Summer School. A series of six classes on the foundations of communist politics. Open to both English- and Spanish-speaking participants. Classes every Sunday at 11 a.m. and Thursday at 7 p.m. through Aug. 6.

"Stages of Human Development." Sun., July 5, 11 a.m. Repeated Thurs., July 9, 7 p.m.

Educational Weekend. Sat., July 11, 4:30 p.m. "A Review of Two Classes on Historical Materialism." Sun., July 12, 11 a.m. A class on Chapter 1 of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Classes held at 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$1.50 per class. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Socialist Summer School. Two series of classes.

Series on Stalinism. Sundays at 2 p.m. on July 12, 19, 26, and Aug. 2. Readings from the *Revolution Betrayed*, *In Defense of Marxism*, *Our Power Is That of the Working People*, and *New International No. 6*.

Series on the fundamentals of Marxism. Thursdays at 6:30 p.m. and Saturdays at 1:30 p.m. on July 9, 11, 16, 18, 23, 25, 30, Aug. 1, and Aug. 6. Readings from *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, *Wage-Labor and Capital*, *Value, Price and Profit*, and the *Wages System*.

Translation to Spanish. All classes at 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1 per class or \$5 for both series. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 723-5330.

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Gov't cops targeted Blacks in World War II

Continued from Page 9

race. . . . More space is devoted to alleged instances of discrimination or mistreatment of Negroes than there is to matters which are educational or helpful."

FBI visits

To drive this point home to editors and writers for Black newspapers who insisted on saying things that were not "helpful," FBI agents began systematically visiting them. FBI agents also began calling on members of groups such as the NAACP, who were often enthusiastic supporters of the Double V campaign. The NAACP in particular, which was growing rapidly in size and activity, was targeted for infiltration by FBI stool pigeons and provocateurs. When fifteen Black sailors assigned as waiters for white officers in Washington, D.C., protested racial discrimination, the navy's response was to ask the FBI to investigate the protesters. The FBI obliged by opening a full-fledged, nationwide "investigation," including the massive use of informers, against the NAACP.

"FBI investigation of the NAACP [during the war] . . . produced massive information in Bureau files about the organization, its members, their legitimate activities to oppose racial discrimination, and internal disputes within some of the chapters," a U.S. Senate committee concluded in 1975. But these "reports and their summaries contained little if any information about specific activities or planned activities in violation of federal law."

In mid-1942 Attorney General Francis Biddle summoned several editors of Black weeklies to Justice Department headquarters in Washington, D.C. Biddle arrogantly told the editors that their coverage of clashes between white and Black soldiers at army bases was a disservice to the war effort. Biddle did not challenge the accuracy of the reports but nonetheless insisted that the information should not have been printed. The attorney general, a liberal and staunch Roosevelt supporter, told the editors that if they did not change the tone of their papers, he was "going to shut them all up" on charges of sedition.

Then, according to one account of the meeting, Biddle picked up a copy of the *Chicago Defender* and complained about an article on nine Black soldiers being transported through Alabama and having to wait 22 hours to eat because white restaurants in railroad stations would not feed them. Biddle said it would have been better if such an article had not appeared. In addition, he said, a number of the paper's other articles "came very close to sedition," and the Justice Department was watching it closely "for seditious matter."

Defense committees in Burkina

Continued from Page 11

appointed. Greater attention was paid to political education, Ouédraogo said, to stress that "power must serve the movement, the interests of the people."

"We are not going to solve all the problems in one year," Ouédraogo added. "But with the measures we have taken, we will reduce them."

Role during war with Mali

Although the main preoccupations of the CDRs are their social and political tasks, they also play a role in the military defense of the country. This was underscored during Burkina's brief war with neighboring Mali in December 1985, which was provoked by a Malian attempt to seize a portion of disputed territory along the two countries' common border. (That territorial dispute has since been resolved through the World Court.)

"In the unfortunate fratricidal conflict between Mali and Burkina," Ouédraogo said, "the CDRs could not remain inactive. Defense must be a matter for the entire people."

The CDRs within the military itself carried out political education among the troops, and insured that they behaved properly toward the civilian population, both Burkinabè and Malian. Whenever the Burkinabè army moved into an area, the CDRs

Biddle's threats of prosecution for sedition did not come out of the blue. The editors he was threatening knew that leaders of the Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party had been convicted in Minneapolis in 1941 for violation of the Smith Act, which outlawed advocacy of revolutionary ideas. In addition, sedition indictments had been brought in September 1942 against 63 members of the Temple of Islam (the Black Muslims), including its leader Elijah Muhammad. The Muslims were accused of sedition because they refused to accept the racist, anti-Japanese stereotypes that were a major part of U.S. war pro-

paganda and expressed solidarity with the Japanese as a people of color. Although the Justice Department could not make the sedition charge stick, it did succeed in convicting Elijah Muhammad and the other defendants on draft-evasion charges.

The government blocked shipment to troops overseas of Black newspapers that continued to publish condemnations of racism and other "unhelpful" facts and opinions. These papers were also often confiscated on military bases in the United States.

Early in 1943, at Biddle's urging, the U.S. Post Office began proceedings to sus-

pend the second-class mailing rights of several newspapers with uncompromising stands against race discrimination. These included the *Militant*, whose contributors and editors included members of the Socialist Workers Party. The Postmaster General banned the *Militant* from the mails on the grounds, among others, that its articles included "stimulation of race issues." All fighters for Black rights were supposed to get the point. The *Militant* won restoration of its mailing rights after a year-long battle that included the mobilization of protests from leaders of Black groups, trade unions, and civil liberties organizations.

Linder grants to spur Nicaragua trips

BY JON HILLSON

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — Before a group of more than 100 Nicaraguans and North Americans, Nuevo Instituto de Centro America Executive Director Beverly Treumann announced that the U.S.-based Spanish language school was naming a program of Nicaragua travel and study grants in honor of Benjamin Linder. He was a 27-year-old U.S. engineer murdered by contra mercenary forces last April.

Treumann made the announcement June 7 at a reception for 30 U.S. and Canadian activists who will be hosted by Nicaraguan families here while they study Spanish at the NICA school, participate in volunteer work, and attend seminars on the country's revolutionary process given by Nicaraguan functionaries.

"The aim of these grants," she said, "is to stimulate travel to Nicaragua among those sectors we consider most strategic in building a massive movement that can stop the U.S. war against Nicaragua, in particular trade unionists, Blacks, Latinos, and Vietnam veterans."

Naming the grants after Ben Linder, she said, "is a tribute to his example of solidarity and sacrifice."

"We want to continue his legacy, bringing more people to Nicaragua and intensifying and strengthening the struggle against the war."

The NICA program's scholarship grants, in existence since 1984, have helped 40 recipients come to Nicaragua — the majority of them Black and Latino. "By naming them for Ben," Treumann explained, "we intend to expand their reach and help to motivate those who get them to deepen their participation in antiwar protest and Nicaragua solidarity activity in the United States."

The first five recipients of the grants, introduced to cheers and applause at the

packed reception, "reflect this commitment," Treumann said.

They include Ben Layman, a 34-year-old Roanoke, Virginia, dairy farmer and longtime farm movement activist; Susan Moir, 39, chief shop steward for the United Steelworkers-organized school bus drivers

in Boston; Adjua Adams, 40, a Black trade unionist and anti-apartheid activist from Birmingham, Alabama; Adrian Montoya, 19, a Chicano college student from Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Nancy Rios, 30, a Puerto Rican activist from Amherst, Massachusetts.



Militant/Héctor Carrión
Members of Third World Coffee Brigade from United States harvest coffee in Nicaragua in 1986. Grants honoring Ben Linder will enable more people from United States to work and study in Nicaragua.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
July 8, 1977

Up to 35,000 miners in eastern coalfields walked off the job during the week beginning June 20. The wildcats were in response to threatened cuts in medical benefits provided by the United Mine Workers of America health and retirement fund.

The strikers included about 20,000 in southern West Virginia and others in Kentucky and Virginia. In Alabama 5,000 are striking over other issues as well.

At stake is the health and retirement fund, which covers 821,000 people. The reduction in benefits, due to begin July 1, requires miners and their families to pay the first \$250 of their hospital bills each year and 40 percent of doctor bills.

The fund is administered by three trustees — one from the union, one from the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), and one who is "neutral." It is financed by company payments based on each hour worked and each ton of coal mined.

When there are work stoppages, the company payments come to a halt.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
July 2, 1962 Price 10c

(The *Militant* went on a biweekly summer schedule and did not appear July 9.

Below is item from the week before.)

NEW YORK, June 26 — A few hundred Negro and Puerto Rican workers, some local labor leaders with guts, and a bunch of kids who want to live in a better world have sparked what may be a significant breakthrough in the hospital strikes here.

The breakthrough consists in the fact that the New York City AFL-CIO Central Labor Council has taken a highly important concrete step in support of striking members of Drug and Hospital Employees Union Local 1199. The council on June 23 sponsored mass picketing by 1,500 trade unionists, including top city and state labor leaders, at the Beth-El Hospital in Brooklyn where for a month Local 1199 has been on strike for union recognition. The picketing was in defiance of an injunction against the strike. Local 1199 President Leon Davis is serving a 30-day contempt-of-court sentence under that injunction for refusing to call the strike off.

Beside the strike at Beth-El, affecting 350 porters, nurse's aides, dietary and laundry workers, Local 1199 is also striking Manhattan Eye, Ear, and Throat Hospital where 150 similar workers now average \$47 a week.

The significance of the new developments goes far beyond those strikers directly involved. Most voluntary hospitals are unorganized. This should mark the opening of a serious and effective campaign, backed by the whole labor movement, to organize them. Such a successful drive by Local 1199 could spark organizing drives in other industries and inspire New York's low-paid Negro and Puerto Rican workers, who number over a half million, to a new level of struggle.

Phila. cops and the Constitution

In the midst of the Philadelphia celebration of the bicentennial of the Constitution, an important fight over free speech and freedom of association is taking place.

Fifteen organizations and individuals there have been compelled to file suit to stop the Police Department and cooperating federal agencies from trampling on their constitutional rights.

In anticipation of the bicentennial events, Philadelphia cops drew up a plan to expand the department's spying and disruption activities. The police have infiltrated organizations and, in May, physically barred protesters on Central America and other issues from a celebration event at which Vice President George Bush was featured.

Supported by Mayor Wilson Goode, the cops admit to extensive undercover surveillance. Their justification — derided even by Philadelphia's capitalist media — is that they're girding against "terrorism." Their targets, however, are any groups or individuals who oppose U.S. government policies.

Among those charging they have been infiltrated in the

"antiterrorism" effort is Pledge of Resistance, a church-related advocate of nonviolent opposition to U.S. policy in Nicaragua.

Police Commissioner Kevin Tucker ducked admitting the Pledge had been targeted for infiltration. But, in a move to smear the group, he added, "Every group is interested in love and nature and mankind. But I have to consider their propensity to violence."

The Pledge of Resistance and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) are the principal plaintiffs in the federal suit against the cops.

Among the supporting complainants are the Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, National Organization for Women, and Lesbian and Gay Task Force.

A July 8 court hearing was slated on a motion for a preliminary injunction to stop the illegal police activity. All supporters of constitutional rights should demand the motion be granted.

High court curbs GI rights

On June 25, the Supreme Court ruled that GIs can be court-martialed for offenses that are not service related.

In a second ruling, the court held that members of the armed forces cannot sue the government, or their officers, for damages even when they have suffered the grossest violation of their constitutional rights.

The right to sue the government was denied to a former army sergeant, James Stanley.

Stanley was one of a thousand soldiers subjected — without their knowledge or consent — to dangerous LSD experiments by the army and CIA.

In a series of secret tests in the 1950s, they were used as human guinea pigs in an effort to learn more about how the mind-altering drug affected people. The intent, obviously, was to add LSD to the Pentagon's chemical arsenal.

After his discharge, Stanley suffered hallucinations and loss of memory. He would go berserk, beating his wife and children. His marriage was wrecked. Only by chance did he learn this was the result of the experiment to which he had been so cruelly subjected.

But the court ruled, five to four, that even in so justified a case, a suit could not be tolerated. It would, the court majority held, "disrupt the military regime." And, the justices warned, it would mean an "intrusion" by civilian courts into military affairs.

But this very case, the case of flagrant abuse of the rights and well being of a thousand soldiers, is precisely why the military should not be above the law, or exempt from civilian review and oversight.

The court-martial ruling came in the case of Richard Solorio who challenged his military trial for an alleged

sexual offense committed off base.

A civilian indictment would have required a grand jury indictment and the right to a jury of his peers. A court-martial means being thrown before an appointed panel, invariably composed mainly of officers.

In rejecting the right of GIs to civilian trials for non-service offenses, the justices overturned an earlier Supreme Court decision that a civilian trial could be denied only in the case of military-connected offenses.

That ruling had come in 1969, at a time of widespread opposition to the Vietnam War — including substantial opposition within the armed forces.

An important side of the GI opposition to the Vietnam War was the growth of realization among the troops that being drafted or enlisting did not mean relinquishing constitutional rights. As citizens in uniform, they asserted their right to freedom of speech and assembly.

They formed organizations, published papers, signed antiwar advertisements, and made speeches. They marched in antiwar demonstrations.

Such moves as the present court decisions aim at forestalling a repetition of that experience. U.S. military forces are being systematically readied for use in Central America, the Persian Gulf and other areas of the world. The government knows how unpopular these moves are, particularly among the GIs who will be called on to do the fighting and dying. That's the reason for restricting GI rights.

And that is why it's so important that these reactionary moves be strongly resisted by all those concerned with democratic rights and who oppose Washington's war drive.

House restricts Nicaragua travel

Continued from front page

ing a mercenary war against a sovereign nation that has committed no hostile acts against the United States, there is no evidence of anyone being prosecuted for doing so. This is true even though they are abetting a gang of murderous mercenaries bent on bringing suffering and devastation to the people of Nicaragua.

Those who go to Nicaragua to help on sorely needed social projects, however, are making an effective contribution to human progress. Their efforts should be promoted, not curbed. Yet they have been victims of government spying and disruption.

The Walker-Smith amendment is intended to promote stepped-up harassment of the Nicaragua Network, Quest for Peace, and numerous other groups organizing Nicaragua travel and work projects.

In the course of the House debate on the travel curb, Rep. James McClure (R-Idaho) called for a congressional probe of such organizations.

Since the Nicaraguan revolution triumphed in 1979, Washington has worked hard to discourage people from going there. They know that nothing exposes their lies about the Sandinista revolution more than a firsthand view of what that revolution is accomplishing in the face of incredible obstacles.

And despite the drumfire of propaganda, people from this country have traveled to Nicaragua literally by the tens of thousands. They have toured Nicaragua and many have participated in the work brigades.

The murder of Ben Linder did not have the intended effect of frightening people off, either. More people now want to go to Nicaragua, not less. They want to extend to the Nicaraguan people the kind of human solidarity that Ben Linder has come to exemplify.

In addition, many Nicaraguan cities have been adopted as "sister cities" by U.S. counterparts — a process that U.S. aggression has fueled rather than curbed.

Discussing the House action in the June 30 *Washington Post*, columnist Mary McGrory observed:

"The Walker amendment is a matter of passionate interest in Wisconsin, which has regarded Nicaragua as a 'sister state' for 20 years. The Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua represents 70 organizations that send a steady stream of labor leaders, lawyers, doctors, teachers and agricultural experts to make life livable for Nicaraguans."

It's this kind of solidarity with Nicaragua that sparked this reactionary bill. Passed by a Democrat-controlled House, it is a bipartisan effort to thwart that progressive sentiment.

The favorable House action on the bill also provided an assist for the drive to win congressional approval for renewed military aid for the contras.

McGrory pointed out:

"Administration advocates took the vote as an indicator that they may, after all, salvage contra aid. . . . It suggests that a Democratic Congress may be as easily whipped into line by a weakened president as by a strong one."

Opponents of Washington's dirty war against Nicaragua have the obligation to oppose this measure becoming law. We must demand in the strongest way that there be no curbs on our right to aid the Nicaraguan people.

Friends and family of Ben Linder are doing a national speaking tour, telling the truth about Nicaragua and about Ben. Building and participating in this tour is one of the most effective ways to sound the alarm about this attack.

Does China have too many people?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Many politicians and newspaper commentators in this country, who say they are worried that the world's population is growing too fast, have been pointing to what they consider to be the positive example of China. China, they say, has averted famine and starvation through effective population control measures.

Rep. James Scheuer, a New York Democrat, wrote earlier this year that "we should all realize that if China had not instituted a comprehensive family planning effort in the 1960s, including the controversial one child per family policy, unchecked population growth, stimulated

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

in part by improved child health care and the accompanying reduction in maternal and child deaths, would have pushed the population by the year 2025 to an estimated 5.2 billion — a sum far exceeding today's total world population."

The Chinese government has adopted a policy that each couple can only have one child. Stiff fines are imposed on those violating this dictum.

Scheuer says this "approach to family planning may seem foreign to Western traditions, but that is natural considering China's whole culture is vastly different from ours."

But cultural traditions don't have anything to do with it. This is just Scheuer's way of saying that anything that helps to reduce the growth of the "yellow horde" deserves support.

But leaving aside Scheuer's imperial arrogance, what are the facts? Are China's stringent population measures responsible for making it possible to feed the population?

Before the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, the conditions in China were like many other heavily populated semicolonial Asian countries. It suffered from famines and cholera epidemics, and the sidewalks and streets were covered with multitudes of sleeping, begging, hungry, and illiterate people. Today one does not look to China, but to India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and almost anywhere else in the semicolonial world for conditions like that.

One of the most remarkable achievements is that China, with nearly one-quarter of the world's 5 billion people but only 7 percent of the planet's cultivatable land, has been able to wipe out mass hunger.

Between 1953 and 1976 the pounds of grain produced annually per person jumped from 593 to 703. And that's with a population increase of more than 300 million.

And since 1979 even bigger strides have been made. Farm production has shot up 10 percent annually, compared to 2 percent annually between 1949 and 1978.

The new regime initiated a more equitable distribution of food after the overthrow of capitalist political rule in 1949.

In addition, huge portions of the gross national product have been invested in new technology and the scientific application of chemicals in agriculture.

The reason why there's such a big gap between the capacity of China and India to feed their people is not population control policies. It is the result of a revolution that has radically transformed social relations. The free rein of imperialist bankers, industrialists, and merchants was broken by the Chinese workers and peasants in 1949.

The domination of the Chinese landholding class over agriculture was smashed and a massive land reform launched. And the Chinese capitalist class was expropriated.

There is no doubt that the Chinese government's mandatory birth control measures have slowed down the rate of population growth, especially in years when special efforts have been made to enforce them.

But there's a nagging question: Are the compulsory programs necessary if both industrial and agricultural production keep advancing the way they have been?

The Chinese government has never been successful in completely imposing the one-child rule. Some richer farmers or workers have been able to pay the fines for having "extra" children. Some government officials, especially in rural areas, have winked at violations of the rule.

Exemptions have also been made in some cases where the first child is a girl, because many people want a boy to guarantee the family's future economic security. This reactionary attitude in itself is a commentary on some of the problems that exist in China and the challenge to developing broader social consciousness.

The attempt by the Chinese government to administer family size does not help strengthen working people's understanding that they are the organizers of society — that they are the force, through their labor, organization, and political awareness, that can increase both food and industrial production even more.

China's government-imposed population control policies increase the barriers to working people confidently advancing along this course.

Stakes in fight against environmental destruction

BY PHIL CLARK

Mounting anger about air and water pollution and exhaustion of soil and other resources boiled over recently when Interior Secretary Donald Hodel urged use of hats and sunglasses for protection against sun exposure caused by depletion of the earth's ozone blanket.

The U.S. Forest Service has responded in a similarly mindless way to criticism of its program to make the na-

AS I SEE IT

tional parks provide superprofits to commercial loggers. This was highlighted recently when Puerto Ricans demonstrated in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and in Chicago's Federal Plaza against U.S. plans to log one-third of El Yunque rain forest. Protecting this once-extensive rain forest is a matter of national pride on the island colony. The forest service shelved the plan for now, but Puerto Rican ecologists warn that the threat remains.

Realization of the finite supply of nature's largesse is raising questions about human stewardship of the earth and all its myriad treasures.

The science of ecology is concerned precisely with these questions of the relationship between humanity and the earth. Ecology places humankind not outside or above, but in the world. From a scientific standpoint, it examines the interrelationships, dependencies, and balances that bind humans to the earth and to the material universe.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the pioneers of scientific communism, saw the contradiction between human beings and their environment.

Marx recounted the horrible living and working conditions of industrial capitalism in Britain. In the smoke-

choked air, the dust-grey houses, and the yellow leaves of dying oaks, he saw the emergence of the modern working class — the class that would be capitalism's grave diggers.

Marx wrote in 1844, "The worker can create nothing without nature, without the sensuous, external world. It is the material on which his labor is manifested, and by means of which it produces. . . . Man lives on nature, his body with which he must remain in continuous interchange if he is not to die. . . ."

Some 30 years later Marx declared, "Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is just as much a source of use value (and it is surely of such, that material wealth consists) as labor, which itself is only the manifestation of a force of nature — human labor power."

In the *Dialectics of Nature* written in the 1880s, Engels said, "Let us not flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human conquest of nature. For each such conquest, it takes its revenge on us. There at every step we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside of nature — but that we, with flesh, blood, and brain, belong to nature and exist in its midst and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage of other beings of being able to know and correctly apply its laws."

Note well, what Engels wrote, nature will "take its revenge." Unless, he added, "we know and correctly apply its laws."

Under capitalism, science and technology has continued to make advances. But it has also unleashed powers that can obliterate the preconditions for human life. Only under a system where these powers may be turned to human welfare can we at last escape the stink of capitalism's death agonies.

Advances in science and technology have created many paradoxes. There are hydrocarbon insecticides

which destroy both harmful and beneficial organisms.

Moreover, these poisons trickle down to the water table. In some areas in Wisconsin where croplands were regularly sprayed with DDT, neurological scientists have found, in towns which cherish and take pride in their ground-water wells, an unusually high incidence of Parkinson's disease.

Nuclear power supplies abundant energy, but it also produces lethal waste, for which no safe disposal has been found.

There is also other "progress" that produces short-term profits and long-term disaster: the innocent-looking aerosol spray that clears away the planet's ozone protective cover; the logging machines that cut down trees with grass-mower efficiency and are reducing tropical rain forests with such inexorable speed. Besides the possible threats to climate, hundreds of thousands of flora and fauna species are lost before they're even listed or identified.

Over all this, imperialism dangles the horrifying destructive power of the nuclear bomb!

But there is a counter to all this — the gravediggers of capitalism, the working class. Not only are they exploited as wage laborers, but also they are crowded into dirty, stinking cities with no fresh air and where grass, trees, and flowers are alien.

This all shows that there is a built-in need and thrust for working people and their organizations to take the lead in the fight against environmental destruction — a fight that is totally intertwined with the struggle to overturn the system of capitalist exploitation.

Phil Clark is the former editor of *Horticulture* magazine and a founder of *Green Flag*, a Chicago-based organization that links the struggle for environmental protection with the fight for social justice.

LETTERS

Struggle for liberation

I received my third copy of the *Militant*. And I'm passing this information on to others here at the Darrington Unit who don't know much about revolutions and how others are being denied equal rights.

But they say they would love to support the struggle for liberation, freedom, justice, and equality. A lot of prisoners here were shocked to find how misinformed they were by the news they hear on TV, until they heard about the *Militant*.

There are some friends of mine and relatives who would love to have your paper and support its cause, and also some of the books you may have on the struggle for revolutions.

And books on Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and Lenin. Already I have lots of books and reading material on these two great men. They had and left behind a powerful set of ideals and philosophy.

A prisoner
Rosharon, Texas

British housing

I appreciated Norton Sandler's informative report on the British elections in the June 26 issue but I have a question on one point.

He states, "Thatcher's election speeches were careful to note that 65 percent of people in Britain now own their own homes."

Does this mean that:

1. 65 percent of the population lives in nonrented homes?
2. Does "own" mean their houses are bought, paid for, and the mortgage burned or is this term used the same way it is used in this country when a "homeowner" is really a home buyer, with the bank or lending institution owning until the 20-30 year payments are all made.

Today's real estate ads are loaded with "repossession sales" where the buyers defaulted.

Many here say, "I own a color TV, a VCR, a piano, a washing machine, etc.," but in reality they are being purchased with chattel mortgages enabling the seller to repossess if default occurs.

I suspect it is the same in Britain.

Paul Montauk
Oakland, California

Sandler replies: About 65 percent of the British population formally own their own homes. They do not pay rent.

However, reader Montauk's second point is well taken. While many British workers have been proclaimed homeowners, they are still paying the government or financial institutions for their homes.

Goetz verdict

Seasoned Black leaders in civics and politics knew what the Bernhard Goetz verdict was going to be before the jury was selected.

In my opinion, Mayor Koch created a hero climate for the "criminal" Goetz. Now he is trying to tranquilize Black New Yorkers into accepting the decision without protest.

Black leadership must vocalize their disapproval loud and clear. Justice means Just-Us!

I do believe that if a Black man had shot four white teenagers under any circumstances, he would not have been exonerated. Our Black sons can now be targets for white vigilantes because it is acceptable.

I agree with N.Y. Police Commissioner Ward. I too am afraid of not only a hot summer but a hot year.

Cynthia Jenkins
Member of New York State Assembly

Chairperson, Affirmative Action Subcommittee

Good Lad

After my article appeared in the June 3 *Militant* about Good Lad, a Philadelphia manufacturer of clothing for children that is organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, 50 of my coworkers there bought copies.

The article became part of their discussions about how to resist the company's attacks on us.

These discussions didn't escape the boss's attention. Peter Sheintock, the owner, asked me not to write any more articles about the shop without consulting him. He admitted our wages were too low, but blamed this on competition, especially from imports.

I refused to give up my demo-

cratic right to free speech.

The number of hours we work per week and our pay rates are governed by Good Lad's drive for profits. Neither competition nor imports prevented Good Lad from having its most profitable season last spring.

While the company had its best season, we had our worst. We have to work Saturdays to earn what we used to earn in a 40-hour week. The more we work, the less we receive.

Richard Gaeta
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Letter to Botha

At its May 4 meeting, United Transportation Union Local 577 voted unanimously to send the following letter to President Pieter Botha of South Africa:

"We, the undersigned members of United Transportation Union Local 577, strongly protest the dismissal of the 20,000 members of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union. We denounce the criminal slaying of six of our brothers and the wounding of many others by government forces on April 22. We demand reinstatement of all those dismissed and recognition of their union. We demand prosecution of those responsible for the deaths of our fellow rail workers."

Jim Miles
Chicago, Illinois

Thanks

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the generous contributors for making it possible for me and others to obtain the important information published weekly in the *Militant*.

Since receiving the *Militant* I've become consciously aware of the plan to control and exploit our sisters and brothers. I'm finally becoming aware of the corruption of capitalism.

I'm only 19 years old and have been doing time since 1983. I had very little understanding about socialism. But the *Militant* helped me with its truthful knowledge.

I am very happy for the people of the Cuban nation, and I found out about the revolutionary people



of Nicaragua. I wish all the oppressed people my love, life, and loyalty.

A prisoner
Pendleton, Indiana

daily exploitation.

A.M.
Salt Lake City, Utah

First rate

I think your coverage is first rate, especially on Central America and the building of solidarity movements here. Think I might enjoy a little more on the cultural scene and on Marxist theory.

A.M.
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

More balance

Your magazine serves an extremely valuable service by providing a different perspective to that available in the regular media.

The one suggestion I do have is that it provide a more balanced view of proletarian struggle in other regions of the world, rather than placing all the emphasis on Nicaragua.

It would also be informative to have more articles on the teachings of Karl Marx and in particular articles that explain why the vast majority of workers in the United States remain oblivious to their

Puerto Rican activists framed up

Illegally seized items twisted into 'proof' of terrorism

BY SELVA NEBBIA

HARTFORD, Conn. — A 1980 Disney World brochure, a child's drawing for his daddy, a love letter, an issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, newspaper clippings on medical matters, a cooking recipe, a prescription for a splint for a three-year-old, an issue of *Barricada Internacional*, a book by Fidel Castro, an issue of *Punto Final*: What do all these things have in common?

These were among the thousands of items taken by U.S. government agents from the home of Hilton Fernández on Aug. 30, 1985, and held by the government as evidence in its trial against him.

Fernández is one of the 13 proindependence activists arrested on August 30. Eleven were arrested in Puerto Rico, one in Mexico and one in the United States. Three others, including a U.S. lawyer, were arrested on March 21, 1986.

They are accused of conspiring in the 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot here, and of being members of the Macheteros, a proindependence organization in Puerto Rico.

Fernández is currently out on bail. He and six other defendants were held in prison for 16 months before being granted that right.

Two other defendants, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Juan Segarra Palmer, are still in prison, having been denied the right to bail under Congress' 1984 preventive detention bill. They are the longest-held prisoners imprisoned under that act.

Hearings on what has become known as the Hartford 16 Case are currently taking place in a federal court here.

At these pretrial hearings the defense is attempting to have the court declare invalid the evidence illegally obtained by the FBI agents prior and during the arrests.

At the time this reporter attended the court hearings, on June 23 and 24, John



Militant/Susan Apstein
Last August 30 in Hartford, Connecticut, 1,000 protested frame-up of Puerto Rican independence advocates. Again, on this coming August 30, a march and rally will demand that the government free prisoners, drop charges.

Williams, Hilton Fernández' lawyer, was questioning FBI Special Agent Gabriel Maldonado.

Maldonado was in charge of the 1985 raid and the "gathering of evidence" at Hilton Fernández' apartment in the Los Robles Co-ops in Puerto Rico.

"About eight agents came into my house, breaking down the front door of the apartment, and took me away," Fernández said, recalling the raid and his arrest. "The agents were joined by several others who remained in my home till 10:30 at night, going over all my family's stuff and taking things away."

They took nine boxes full of material

from Fernández' home. The government is holding five of them as evidence in the case. The other four were returned recently to the defendant, after being held for over one year.

Machetero poem

Williams picked up a small plastic box from inside one of the five boxes labeled by the government: "Black box containing miscellaneous papers."

Williams presented Maldonado with some of the material found in this box: a certificate of immunization for one of Fernández' daughters, a birth certificate of one of the Fernández children, a graduation

picture of Iris Rodríguez, Fernández' wife.

"Why did you seize this material?" Williams asked Maldonado.

"Because I found a poem in there pertaining to the Macheteros," replied Maldonado.

"So because you found a poem there, you seized the whole box?" asked Williams.

"To the best of my recollection, that was the reason," replied Maldonado.

"Did you make any effort to discriminate among the things you seized in the box?" asked the lawyer.

"We looked in the box and saw the poem and thought that was reason enough," answered the FBI agent.

Williams showed agent Maldonado a plastic bag with a label indicating that it contained things found on the kitchen counter. Among these miscellaneous papers was a date book belonging to Iris Rodríguez.

"Why did you seize this date book?" asked Williams.

"I seized it under paragraph 4," replied the agent.

"What part of paragraph 4?" asked Williams.

"I don't exactly remember, but calendars usually show evidence of 'past, present, future terrorists acts,'" replied Maldonado.

He was citing paragraph 4 of the affidavit attached to the search warrant, outlining the criteria to be used in seizing material. It covers:

"Communiqués and documents: including *La Voz Obrera*, distribution lists, targets for terrorist violence, documentation of past/present/future terrorist acts, copies of past/present/future Macheteros communiqués, Macheteros membership lists, tickets and other records pertaining to travel of Macheteros members, code books, secret writing equipment... literature regarding international terrorism..."

"But Iris Rodríguez is not alleged to be a Machetero member," stated Williams. He asked Maldonado to find in the warrant any mention of Rodríguez' alleged membership in the Macheteros.

Agent Maldonado was unable to find anything like this.

Again, Williams asked Maldonado why he had seized the date book.

"To the best of my recollection, it contained evidence of past, present, future terrorist acts of an alleged Machetero member," repeated Maldonado.

"Where is the evidence of that?" asked Williams handing Maldonado the date book.

Maldonado took a few minutes to look through the date book and pointed out an entry that said, "call Yvonne."

"These dates don't particularly mean anything to me, but somebody well versed on terrorism can make something of this," replied the agent.

Violation of 4th Amendment

Williams later told the *Militant* that Maldonado's testimony was very important.

"This testimony amounted to a confession of violating the Fourth Amendment [to the Constitution]. They seized items in the hopes that in subsequent investigations something will turn up, and this is illegal," he said.

"It has become obvious that the FBI search in reality had no relation to its stated objective, finding evidence of a 1983 Wells Fargo robbery. Rather it was a dragnet designed to bring any and all bits of material that FBI behavioral-science experts might use to get into the heads of the proindependence movement to find out what makes these people tick, and use this information to destroy the Puerto Rican movement," added Williams.

How farmers halted 78,000 foreclosures

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N.D. — Farmers won a significant victory here June 3 when a federal judge ordered the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) to halt foreclosure proceedings against 78,000 small farmers. Those most immediately affected were 13,000 farmers whom the federal loan agency had placed in the last or "accelerated" stages of foreclosure.

The June 3 ruling is the latest step in the court battle that nine North Dakota farmers began in 1982 after they received notice that FmHA planned to foreclose on their farms.

The ruling has brought relief to thousands of farmers and showed how a small group of poor farmers can win wide backing and force a hostile federal agency to back down.

Federal Judge Bruce Van Sickle ruled that FmHA had intentionally and repeatedly violated a 1978 law enacted by Congress that required FmHA to defer loan payments from farmers in financial trouble through no fault of their own, and to refrain from foreclosing on their farms.

In 1983 Van Sickle extended the scope of the case to include 8,400 FmHA borrowers in North Dakota. He ruled that the farmers had been denied foreclosure hearings and other aspects of due process required by the 1978 law. Later in 1983, the case became a nationwide class action involving 250,000 more farmers from 45 other states.

1984 ruling

In February 1984 the judge ordered a halt to foreclosure actions against 77,000

farmers until the agency changed its loan repayment and foreclosure policies. He also required FmHA to allow farmers to keep enough of their income for operating and living expenses.

The farmers were back in court in January 1986. They revealed that the FmHA had repealed regulations allowing income from production to be used for basic expenses. New regulations promulgated by the agency permitted the FmHA, which was supposedly set up to be the "lender of last resort," to force farmers off their land. The agency said it wanted "to be able to deal with farmers' living expenses on an individual basis."

Gary Barrett of Stuart, Iowa, testified that FmHA had refused him an operating loan for 1986, had no intention of releasing expense money to him and was pressuring him to liquidate. "They were going to have me dead and gone," he told the court.

After he testified, the FmHA released money for Barrett's 300-acre crop and livestock operation.

In March 1986, however, Van Sickle cleared the way for FmHA to begin foreclosure proceedings. He also ordered the agency to grant a hearing to farmers before refusing to release money to them, and to allow farmers to appeal decisions about the amount of money released.

In March 1987 farmers returned to court. They showed that the FmHA had sent out improper foreclosure notices to some 90,000 financially strapped farmers.

Lynn Hayes, a lawyer from Farmers'

Legal Action Group Inc. of Minneapolis, described the agency's notices and forms as "misleading, unreadable, and incomprehensible" — "so inadequate" that the whole foreclosure process violated the right to due process.

On May 7 Van Sickle found one of the forms to be "fundamentally unfair" and gave the agency 30 days to provide the court with a form containing a "comprehensive but also readable" explanation of the choices available to farmers facing foreclosure.

On June 3 Van Sickle issued the order halting foreclosure proceedings, and ordering the FmHA to reinform 78,000 farmers of their rights.

There are three categories covered by the decision.

1. Farmers who received notices of intent to take adverse action, but whose loans were not placed in the "accelerated" category can't be foreclosed on until FmHA re informs them using proper notices.

2. Farmers whose loans were classified as "accelerated" between May 7 and June 2 also can't be foreclosed on until the agency reopens the procedure using proper notices.

3. Farmers who received notices of intent to take adverse action and whose accounts were declared "accelerated" before May 7 cannot be foreclosed on for 30 days, during which time each farmer can decide whether to challenge the action based on the unconstitutional character of the notices used by the FmHA.